

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

## Morocco aids Mobutu

It is significant that the African nations themselves are taking firm steps to resolve the nasty problem in Zaïre. Morocco has dispatched some 1,500 troops to the province of Shaba, which is threatened with a take-over by forces operating from Angola. The Sudan and Egypt also are contemplating military help. Clearly the moderate African states see the hand of Cuba and the Soviet Union in the invasion — if only one of acquiescence — and are concerned about the long-range threat to other African regimes if it is permitted to succeed.

That the nations of Africa are squarely standing up to the problem is encouraging.

Obviously the introduction of military forces by one state into another has its hazardous implications. A military operation alone is no solution to the problem. But presumably the reason for the Moroccan troops is to help balance the military forces on the ground while parallel diplomatic efforts continue to resolve the dispute by peaceful means. Without military leverage, peaceful mediation was not working.

The important point is that the action was taken only after the government of Zaïre, realizing that the United States would do no more than provide nonmilitary help, appealed to the Organization of African Unity for aid. This is the rightful mechanism through which all parties ought to be working. So far there is no indication that the crisis has developed to the point where a United Nations peace-keeping mechanism might be brought into play, but even if this is the judicious course to take it will be up to the OAU member states to initiate it.

That the invasion of Shaba, formerly Katanga, poses dangers for all Africa there is no doubt. If the former Katangese mercenaries (probably trained with Cuban help and using Soviet equipment) succeed in toppling General Mobutu by force or in detaching the mineral-rich province from the rest of Zaïre, this can

only give encouragement to other irredentist and radical forces interested in changing ill-drawn geographic boundaries or overthrowing recognized regimes. The stability of Africa would be sorely taxed and the Russians and their Cuban clients would have even more fertile field for mischief.

In this connection we feel some of Ambassador Andrew Young's pronouncements about Africa are not helpful. To be sure, the United States does not need to be "paranoid" about the presence of communists in Africa, including Cubans and Russians. It can certainly learn to deal rationally with African regimes which have alliances with Moscow and Havana and which are Marxist in political outlook. As we have said many times before, the Africans themselves have no wish to become hostage to an outside power, whoever that power. And, yes, in economic competition with the Russians the Americans will always win hands down — in Africa or anywhere else.

But it seems to us that Ambassador Young errs in underestimating the presence of Cuban military forces in Angola and the potential harm to Africa's and the West's security of a growing Soviet military presence in Africa. The point is that the Soviet Union seeks to abet African regimes that are responsive to it and over which it has considerable influence. This could mean that in a time of crisis, for instance, the Russians would be able to deny influence to the United States.

Rather than continuing to give the benefit of the doubt to Cuba in Angola, we feel it would be better to work for a withdrawal of all outside military forces from the region and for an international agreement to control the flow of arms to the continent. This, indeed, would make it possible for Africans to settle their own affairs themselves without outside interference.

## Bombs vs. breeders

In discouraging the breeder reactor and the reprocessing of nuclear fuel, both of which would produce the nuclear explosive plutonium, President Carter is putting efforts to contain the atom bomb ahead of questionable energy sources.

We agree with his priorities. At the same time, we are glad that he has not killed breeder development altogether. By putting it on the back burner, he keeps this energy option open for the long run while freeing his hands to seek stronger world support for nonproliferation.

Neither the President nor his advisers naively believe that forswearing the breeder is, of itself, going to turn around world opinion. As the congressional Office of Technology Assessment rightly points out, there is no royal road to nonproliferation. It will take a variety of technical and political safeguards to achieve it.

However, one of the foremost technical safeguards would be to keep plutonium out of reach by not letting it become an item of commerce. And the foremost political safeguard would be the emergence of an international will to stop the spread of weapons.

President Carter will have a tough job persuading such countries as Britain, France, or West Germany — to say nothing of the Soviet Union — to abandon the "plutonium economy." This now is a key element in their energy plans. But he would have no credibility at all if the United States did not take the first step.

In a sense, the President is taking a gamble. Postponing the breeder is a sensible energy strategy only if there will be enough ordinary nuclear fuel (uranium) to meet nuclear power needs through the end of this century. Despite reassurance on this point by a recent Ford Foundation study, there is no expert consensus that the supply will be ample. In fact, the data to decide this question are not in hand. A supposedly definitive survey of United States uranium reserves being made by the Energy Research and Development Administration is scheduled to take until 1980, President Carter

should give such assessment higher priority.

Meanwhile, we welcome his assurance to other nations that the United States will do all it can to see that countries which do abstain from breeders or reprocessing are never short of fuel. This is an essential part of nonproliferation diplomacy. For example, Brazil, feeling rebuffed by the United States on this point, has bought reprocessing technology from West Germany.

Initial reactions from some European nations are reserved. There are questions as to whether the United States is seeking some kind of commercial advantage. It could take years to find out whether President Carter's initiative will succeed. For the moment, at least, his approach deserves support.

## Resisting new nazism

Free speech is meaningless unless it extends to that with which one most radically disagrees. If American society wants to rid itself of the abhorrent hate messages of the latter-day Nazis, it can do so only through the strength of countervailing ideas. There can be no condoning of violent assaults such as the one which demolished a Nazi bookstore in San Francisco not long ago. The free press at the attackers were all too chillingly reminiscent of the book-burning that symbolized Hitler's suppressing of thought.

Yet how abominable it was for the Nazis to set up their Rudolph Hess Bookstore, with its large swastika in the window, across the street from a synagogue whose congregation was founded by German Jewish refugees. And how understandable was the outrage of a man, like one of those arrested for the assault, who had suffered in Auschwitz and lost his whole family there.

But the doctrines themselves are dangerous. While the new Nazis' unapologetic exploitation of American free speech continues, other Americans should take care to armor their own thoughts against it — to express in their daily lives such an antithesis to hatred that there is no ground in which its seeds of destruction can take root.

'For Heaven's sake don't lay an egg'



The Christian Science Monitor

## SALT: back on track

Happily, the noisy rhetoric surrounding the recent Moscow talks is over. Washington and Moscow have sensibly settled down to serious, private discussions on a strategic arms agreement. President Carter has been in touch with Leonid Brezhnev and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin last week sneaked into the State Department for talks with Secretary Vance. The debacle in Moscow has thus not damaged the cause of arms control. If anything, it has cleared the air and perhaps made both sides more determined than ever to get an agreement. Splendid.

One decided plus for Mr. Carter amid all the hoopla is that he has won over many of the conservatives to his side. Henry Jackson himself is reported to have played a role in the behind-the-scenes drafting of the bold proposals for deep cuts in nuclear arsenals. It was also this Senate hard-liner who urged the President to move to quiet diplomacy in future negotiations with the Russians. This support of the cold warriors will help Mr. Carter. He will need it when he finally submits a SALT treaty for the Senate's approval.

However, the very fact that the tough-liners have rallied behind the President raises some concern. It is not clear what they want. An agreement with the Russians which achieves equality in numbers but leaves the United States free to keep up its superiority in weapons technology? The problem is that the hard-liners traditionally have wanted to keep the arms escalator going so that the Soviet Union would not overtake the U.S.

Yet that approach belies the purpose of an arms agreement. No pact can be reached if one side perceives it has been left at a disadvantage. The name of the game today is "rough equivalence" simply because it becomes increasingly harder for the United States to maintain a nuclear edge — and because both sides now have enough weaponry to obliterate each other many times over.

Mr. Carter's basic goal is, emphatically, sound. He wants more than a mere cosmetic reduction in arms that would still permit the deadly race to go on. His call for drastic cuts in numbers of missiles makes sense. His proposal

to ban the deployment of all mobile missiles — the Soviets' SS-16 and others and the American MX, now being developed — would eliminate a dangerously unverifiable system. The idea of stopping the MIRV-ing of missiles is also a good one.

At the same time, without knowing the full details of the Carter proposals, one is left with the impression that the package poses problems for the Russians. It asks them, for one, to make bigger cuts in land-based missiles than the U.S. at a time when they are just replacing their old models. Most of all, it would permit the United States to have cruise missiles up to a range of 1,500 miles — which would not be intercontinental missiles, to be sure, but could certainly be counted strategic ones, since they could be fired from land, submarines, surface ships, or airplanes from many places.

In any case, the talks now must come to grips with these questions. Each side must do a better job of understanding what disturbs the other side: the cruises worry the Russians, for instance, and the Soviet Union's higher missile totals and massive throw-weight concern the Americans. As for that much-talked-about Soviet Backfire bomber, how really menacing is it to the United States?

Nor should the Russians evade their responsibility. They must realize that the Americans people have a genuine concern about their nuclear intentions. Are they striving for nuclear superiority or simply a perception of it? They of the world that they have superiority? They need to show the United States just how serious they are about arms control.

Need, too, to come up with ideas of their own with counterproposals to the Carter initiative. It is all good and well for the Soviets to talk nostalgically about the "golden age" of nuclear agreement reached with President Lyndon B. Johnson. The fact is that the United States cannot go back to that. This is a new U.S. administration with a new President of totally different bent.

The imperative now is to find that path of compromise that will make a SALT agreement equitable and acceptable to both sides — and, above all, to the American people.

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## Carter's finger in the energy dike

Tax for gas guzzlers, rewards for gas savers, outlined in U.S. plan

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
President Carter's energy program shakes a stick at big consumers of gasoline and holds out a carrot of cash subsidy to Americans who insulate their homes.

A graduated tax on "gas guzzling" cars would be imposed by Mr. Carter, ranging up to \$2,488 by 1985 on automobiles getting less than 12.5 miles a gallon.

Conversely, Americans who buy U.S.-made small cars would receive cash rebates ranging up to \$493 by 1985. Electric cars, says the President, "will be eligible for the maximum rebate."

"We may," says Rep. Charles A. Vanik (D) of Ohio, "be able to squeak the gas-guzzling tax through Congress."

Mr. Carter, outlining a wide-ranging national energy program before a joint session of Congress, also proposes a steadily gasoline tax beginning at 5 cents a gallon in January, 1979, and progressing to a maximum of 50 cents a gallon. If gasoline consumption nationwide exceeds targets to be set.

It may be "extremely difficult," said Mr. Vanik in a telephone interview, to get a tax on gasoline through Congress. This assessment is based on road the Ohio congressman and other legislators have received from constituents.

Mr. Vanik, a House Ways and Means member, believes retail gasoline prices may climb by 15 cents a gallon in two years, even without a gasoline tax.

This projection stems from President Carter's proposal to impose progressively heavy taxes on domestic U.S. crude oil, intended by 1980 to bring the price of U.S.-produced oil in the world price, set by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

"Once the tax is fully in place," says a White House statement, "it would rise with world oil prices" unless the OPEC price increased "significantly faster" than the general level of inflation.

\*Please turn to Page 15

## When Prince and President meet, the subject will be oil

By Joseph C. Harsch

President Carter's various proposals for lowering the American need for imported oil have much to do with what happens next month when he sits down to talk with Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

The Prince is the spokesman for the largest non-Communist source of oil outside the United States itself. He is also the spokesman for the conservative part of the Arab world which would prefer to seek its future welfare within the framework of a friendly relationship with the United States. Prince Fahd was mainly responsible in the last meeting of the oil-exporting countries (OPEC) for keeping the price of oil down. Most of the others wanted to boost the price well above present levels.

But the Crown Prince needs something in return for past and future restraint on oil prices and for assurances that Saudi Arabia will do its best to avoid another Arab oil embargo. His country's restraining hand on the more militant Arabs and on the greed of some OPEC countries assumes a fair exchange. To him that fair exchange must include progress toward a settlement between Israel and the Arab world — any such settlement which it will be acceptable to the Arabs must include some provision for the Palestinian refugees. Did President Carter mean to promise them a "homeland," or was that only a slip of the tongue that night at Clinton, Massachusetts?

The Prince was originally to have come to Washington in March. The visit was postponed partly for reasons of King Khalid's health, partly because the Carter administration was far from ready to come to grips with all of the interlocking problems of the Middle East, Israel's frontiers, oil, and the American economy. Anything done in any one of those areas touches all of the others.

Prince Fahd could be undermined politically if he failed to bring home from Washington a

firm assurance that the United States will bring Israel back to the conference table at Geneva and push it along toward some form of acceptable accommodation with its Arab neighbors and the Palestinians.

He is to come to Washington sometime in late May. The date has not yet been finally fixed. It cannot much longer be postponed. The Arab countries are beginning to get restless. Failure to make progress toward a settlement would almost surely mean another war in the Middle East.

Mr. Carter does not want another war in the Middle East. It would be costly, with America again at the end paying the dollar costs. (The NATO arsenal in Europe is still short of some of the items sent to Israel in the 1973 war.) But to avoid another war in the Middle East, Mr. Carter must apply the kinds of pressure on Israel which produce political resistance among Israel's friends in the United States.

The more Arab oil Americans use, the more pressure Mr. Carter will have to apply to Israel. The less Arab oil they use, and the less dependent they become on it, the more time Mr. Carter has for working out a Middle East settlement. But to bring down the volume of oil imports drastically without alternative energy sources being immediately available could have severe economic repercussions in the United States. In particular it could have a devastating effect on the automobile industry in Detroit and on all the other activities associated with the automobile economy.

Has Mr. Carter found the best possible compromise among the conflicting interests of the American economy, of the Arabs and of Israel?

If he were thinking only of the economy he would at once force Israel to surrender all of the occupied Arab territories and thus assure himself of the fullest flow of Arab oil — as long as it lasts. This would give him, and American

\*Please turn to Page 15

## Zaire war: the rot stops

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of The Christian Science Monitor

The arrival of 1,500 Moroccan troops in Zaïre over the weekend has stabilized for the time being a situation that was fast deteriorating.

Among the beneficent effects for Zaïre President Mobutu Sese Seko are these:

• The securing of Kolwezi, all-important center of Zaïre's copper industry, which — till the arrival of the Moroccans in the city — had seemed to be waiting apinely to fall into the hands of the so-called Katangese gendarmes who in early March had invaded Zaïre's Shaba province from Angola.

• Improvement of the outlook for successful mediation in the crisis by Nigeria. The Nigerian Foreign Minister, Brig. Joseph Garba, had visited the capitals of both Zaïre and Angola. Angola is widely believed to be supporting the invading gendarmes. So long as the gendarmes were moving on Kolwezi without opposition, mediation had little attraction for them — or for the Angolans.

• More time to bring up Zaïre troops and supplies from distant parts of the country into Shaba. And more time to absorb and get into place the mainly non-lethal aid dispatched to President Mobutu by the U.S., China, France, and Belgium. (France is reported to have also provided up to a score of military instructors.)

The pygmies widely reported last week to have surrounded the invading Katangese gendarmes in the town of Mutsa are part of the force brought into the battle area from elsewhere.

\*Please turn to Page 15

## The Owen plan for Rhodesia:

## An independent Zimbabwe by 1978

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

London  
A constitutional conference on Rhodesia sponsored by Britain and the United States would have these major objectives, says British Foreign Secretary David Owen:

• To "develop a clear timetable for achieving independence in 1978."

• To "draw up a constitution protecting basic human rights and to define an acceptable democratic process for an automatic transfer to an independent nation."

• To "discuss the role of an international development fund to help promote the economic stability of an independent Zimbabwe and encourage the minority white population to stay" (Zimbabwe is the African name for Rhodesia).

The Foreign Secretary outlined the plan to the House of Commons April 19 after an eight-day mission to Africa. His statement was cheered by both sides of the House.

Dr. Owen's trip covered all the major African countries concerned about the Rhodesian problem, including South Africa and Angola. He met with Prime Minister Ian Smith in Cape Town, and also visited Rhodesia.

There was the closest coordination between Britain and the U.S. throughout Dr. Owen's journey, and American sponsorship of the proposed conference is considered essential to its success. The Foreign Secretary discussed the question April 19 with the U.S. charge d'affaires in London, Ronald Spahr.

Dr. Owen warned Parliament that he is under "no illusion about the difficulties" and would offer no guarantee of success.

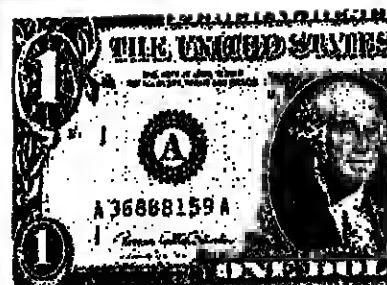
\*Please turn to Page 15



Britain's David Owen: Parliament cheered



## Highlights



**CAPITALISM HAS A FUTURE.** With Moscow-style communism looking old-fashioned, and socialism tangled up in red tape, capitalism is quietly undergoing a revolution. In fact the United States may be able to call itself the first truly socialist country. Page 20

**MOBCOW WANTS INDIA'S FRIENDSHIP.** Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, is off to India and a reporter in New Delhi explains why the visit is so important. Page 13

**MAO'S LATEST.** All China seems to be queuing up to buy the new edition of Mao's work. Since the editing was done by the present regime, it is full of clues to Chairman Hua's plans for his country's future. Page 12

**SNAKE-CHARMING.** You can charm a snake but never make a friend out of him, according to a professional in the business. Page 24

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## FOCUS

### Ecologists: French political force

By Jim Browning

Paris A new force has appeared on the political scene in France and is likely to have a growing influence on the daily lives of the French people.

It is the environmental movement, known to the French as the "ecologists" or simply the "greens." Its advocacy of a simpler, less wasteful life has harnessed popular discontent. Most potently, it has begun to win elections.

Several "green" mayors were elected in small towns during the recently completed nationwide municipal elections along with a number of town councilors.

In most of France's larger cities, the ecology candidates emerged as a potentially decisive political force, picking up from 8 to 13 percent of the vote.

The "greens" point out that for them, local government decisions are often the most important. And they have secured traditional political offices of both the Right and the Left by making plans to run in the highly important parliamentary elections due next March.

"I try not to buy products with artificial colorings," commented one Paris housewife as she ate a naturally colored caramel cream dessert. "But it is not always marked and many products include colorings which already have been outlawed in the United States. I voted ecology in the city election."

Frustration and distrust of the government have helped translate ecological concerns into political issues.

The most visible ecology activists are middle-class intellectuals, Friends of the Earth members, students, and extreme leftists of the larger cities. But in the recent

**Back-to-land movement** municipal elections the most successful were probably the more conservative groups linked to peasant rights and back-to-the-land movements in Alsace, in eastern France.

There, in addition to opposing the continuing encroachment of chemical factories, activity has centered on the top target of ecology activists across the nation: the nuclear power program.

The first of France's new series of American design, light-water reactors went into service in the Alsace town of Fessenheim early in March, despite repeated protests and demonstrations in the region.

Nuclear planners say that the ecologists' warnings about possible nuclear accidents, waste disposal problems, radioactive pollution and the like are exaggerated.

"If you think you can live without nuclear energy altogether, I'd be the first to say don't develop it," commented one of France's leading experts recently. "But if you need the energy you must say that [nuclear] is on balance better than the alterna-

lives. Solar, geothermic, and wind energy are just not ready yet."

France currently imports about 80 percent of its energy, mostly in the form of gas and oil. Because of worries about future supplies, plans call for nuclear power to make up 95 percent of new energy developed and 25 percent of total energy in use by 1985 or so.

#### Jobs considered

Technical problems and local opposition have helped delay implementation of the program. But planners emphasize that in most areas local citizens have voted to favor of the reactors, partly because they promote jobs.

"A large part of the ecological movement is an opposition to our present kind of society," said the nuclear expert.

"People want to go back to a quieter, more relaxed type of society. You can understand that, too, but it's hard to go back to the old days and still have enough food and enough energy to satisfy people who have become accustomed to a certain lifestyle."

Alain Hervé, editor of the environmentalist magazine Sauvage and one of the ecology candidates who polled more than 10 percent of the vote in the Paris municipal elections, replies:

"If we are going to find new jobs it is not to the traditional industrial society that we must look."

The industrial society, he says, is destroying itself. New initiatives must be directed toward decentralized, service-oriented, non-polluting enterprises that have realistic and not just dream goals.

## Indira's place in a New India

By K. R. Sundar Rajan  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bombay Many Indians feel that Mrs. Indira Gandhi still has a useful role to play in national affairs. Even those who voted against her Congress Party admit that the opposition may disintegrate without her continued leadership.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the charismatic pacifist statesman who led the People's Party to a stunning electoral triumph, said recently that "Mrs. Gandhi has many more years of public service before her." But J.P., as he is affectionately called, stressed that she must "unlearn many things and realize her mistakes in a true spirit of humility."

Several People's Party MPs have told me they would have liked to see Mrs. Gandhi on the opposition bench in Parliament.

"With her in front of us, the debates would be really lively," said one MP.

Though her political fate does not hang openly, they seem to feel that Mrs. Gandhi's presence in Parliament would help keep the ruling party's ranks united. As one seasoned parliamentary correspondent put it: "The People's Party's most powerful slogan was Indira Hatao (Remove Indira). With Indira trounced it will have to find a new rallying point."

The expectation in political circles is that Mrs. Gandhi will fight a by-election in Andhra Pradesh or Karnataka, the two southern states where the People's Party made a poor showing in the March 18-20 poll. Karnataka Chief Minister Devraj Urs is quoted by a newspaper as saying: "Many Congress Party MPs are ready to resign to facilitate Mrs. Gandhi's return to parliament. She has only to give us an indication about her plans."

But Mrs. Gandhi absorbed the message of the elections which put the Congress Party out of office after 30 years of unbroken rule? A prominent Congress Party MP, a man who has been close to Mrs. Gandhi, told me: "I'm afraid she is yet to make a beginning in that direction."

Mr. V. P. Chavan, former foreign minister and now the opposition leader in the new parliament, said in a refreshingly frank broadcast: "I can assure the nation that the Congress Party has fully absorbed the lessons of the emergency and the election. . . . The verdict of the people is not against our basic policies. The people's anger was against the overzealous and harsh implementation of some of



'Mrs. Gandhi must unlearn many things and realize her mistakes'

these policies during the emergency. This abuse has been a national tragedy."

Mrs. Gandhi is under mounting pressure from her colleagues to use her authority to identify and remove from the party those responsible for the excesses during the 21 months the nation was ruled by emergency decrees. But she has declined to do so. On the contrary she has questioned the assessment of many party stalwarts who maintain that Sanjay Gandhi, her son, and former Defense Minister Bansi Lal are largely responsible for the anti-Congress wave.

In a press interview, Mrs. Gandhi blamed her party's defeat on "the intensity of violence of the propaganda made by the former opposition groups." Her administration's actions were exaggerated, she said, in a massive door-to-door propaganda campaign.

Said a defeated Congress Party candidate: "Mrs. Gandhi is still unwilling to accept the truth. She must admit there were terrible excesses during the emergency. Equally damaging to her supporters and ad-

mirers is Mrs. Gandhi's assertion that during 1975 emergency had to be proclaimed without prior discussion by the Cabinet. "Matters like this cannot be made the subject of a debate," she told a reporter.

One of the major charges leveled by Prime Minister Morarji Desai and Jayaprakash Narayan is that "Mrs. Gandhi's emergency came as a surprise even to her Cabinet colleagues."

"Humility is not among Mrs. Gandhi's strong points," Federal Communications Minister George Fernandez says. "The Nehrus have all been like that." Mr. Fernandez is not quite right. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru publicly confessed after the spectacular Chinese military triumph in the Himalayas in 1962 that he was living in a "make-believe world."

Mrs. Gandhi is making things even more difficult for her party by refusing to purge it of undemocratic elements and by continuing to berate the People's Party. What she fails to appreciate is that in a democracy opposition parties are fully justified in capitalizing on the administration's lapses.

## After the election: language is still politics in Belgium

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The result of the general election in Belgium is a vote of confidence in Prime Minister Leo Tindemans of the Social Christian Party — the more progressive of the country's two conservative parties. (The other is the Liberal Party.) But although the Social Christians have increased their representation from 72 to 80 seats in Parliament, the next government is likely again to be a coalition.

The question is: With whom will Mr. Tindemans try to form the coalition? He has held in a television interview that he would like to bring the Socialists into a new administration. They are the second biggest party in Parliament, with 60 seats — up one from the last Parliament. In that Parliament they were in opposition, and Mr. Tindemans' main coalition opponent came from the liberals.

Mr. Tindemans' immediate reason for prematurely calling for a dissolution of Parliament last month, and new elections April 17, was an impasse on economic issues which brought him into confrontation with one of his minor coalition partners, the French-speaking Rassemblement Wallon. But the dominating issue in Belgian politics — if not obviously so in the latest election — remains the relationship between the country's three regions.

#### Regions involved

These three regions are: the French-speaking area, in the southern half of the country adjoining France; the Dutch-speaking area, in the northern half of the country adjoining the Netherlands; and Brussels, the capital, a mainly French-speaking island inside the Dutch-speaking part.

The result of the election suggests that the language frontier drawn across Belgium and given parliamentary approval in the 1960s now is generally accepted, but that there are still latent emotions on whether the island of Brus-

sels should be allowed to spread out into the Dutch-speaking areas around it.

In each of the main language areas, the hard-line French-speaking and Dutch-speaking parties both lost seats. The Dutch-speaking Volksunie representation fell from 22 to 20 seats and the French-speaking Rassemblement Wallon and Front Démocratique des Francophones from 22 to 15. But in Brussels the Front Démocratique des Francophones picked up one seat from the Socialists.

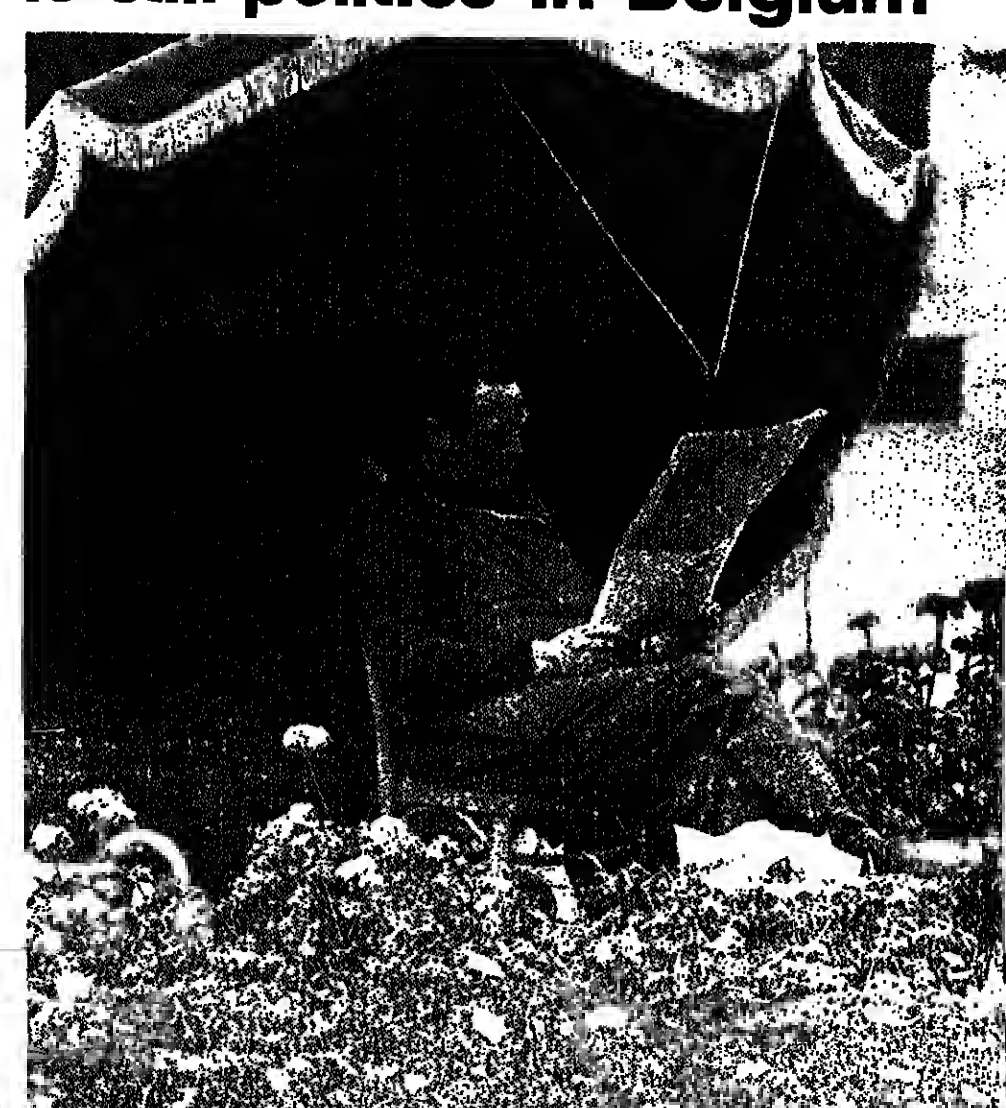
(All three main parties, incidentally — the Social Christians, the Socialists, and the Liberals — deal with the language division by having separate French and Dutch-speaking organizations under the overall party umbrella. This seems to satisfy most Belgians of both languages. Mr. Tindemans himself is Dutch-speaking.)

#### Legislation delayed

The premature dissolution of the last Parliament in preparation for the general election has delayed legislation intended to move on from the language frontier, accepted in the 1960s, to establishing constitutional arrangements (with a measure of self-government) between the regions. This, of course, would be a move toward a federal state. Mr. Tindemans had tried until the last minute to avoid a dissolution in March so that the hoped-for legislation would not have to wait until the next Parliament.

Since the end of World War II there has been a virtual reversal of at least the economic roles of the French and Dutch-speaking parts of Belgium. For the country's first century of independence from 1830 onward, French-speaking Belgians dominated both the politics and the economy of the country.

But since World War II, the establishment of 20th-century industries close to Belgium's channel ports — often with multinational backing — has turned Dutch-speaking Belgium into the more thriving and modern part of the country.



A Dutch newspaper reader in French-speaking Brussels

## Soviet smiles on France

By Jim Browning  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris Relations between the Soviet Union and France, damaged in 1975, now seem back on solid ground. And Moscow has confirmed that Soviet Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev will visit Paris as planned at the end of June or the beginning of July.

The thaw in relations has taken place despite the fact France has sent aid to Zaire to help it repel the invasion of Katangan rebels based in Soviet-backed Angola.

Confirmation of Mr. Brezhnev's visit was given April 14 to French President Giscard d'Estaing by the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, Stepan Chernomyrdin. The visit will come at about the time of the international conference in Belgrade, which is to review the results of the 1975 Helsinki accords on European security and cooperation.

After meeting the French President, Ambassador Chernomyrdin criticized all foreign intervention in Zaire, but also said his country wanted to see cooperation with France "continue steadily to widen."

When the French President visited Moscow in October, 1975, he was snubbed by Mr. Brezhnev, who cancelled some of the scheduled talks after Mr. Giscard d'Estaing proposed in a toast that détente extend to ideology as well as to arms.

Now, however, the Soviets are thought to appreciate France's refusal to follow President Carter's lead on human rights. They may even hope to point to the more diplomatic French style as a means of criticizing Mr. Carter's outspokenness and his meeting with dissident Vladimir Lukin.

## Spain: too many political voices could put right wing back in power

By Joe Gandelman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Will the voice of Spain's political center be divided or ring out loud and clear?

That is the key question as the scramble begins for Spain's first free election in 40 years, set to take place June 15. A leftist victory is considered unlikely at this point. But there are growing fears a divided Left and fragmented Center could lead to a triumph for the Right, now united under the neo-Francoist Popular Alliance Party, led by former Interior Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne.

Mr. Fraga has launched a bitter anti-Communist campaign aimed at winning support from the middle class and powerful financial sectors, which fear the consequences of a possible leftist victory. He denounces the government's legalization of the Communist Party as

"a genuine coup d'état" and a betrayal of the current Francoist Cortes (Parliament). In addition, Mr. Fraga has begun a petition drive to reconvene the Cortes to discuss the highly contentious issue. (In the June elections voters will choose a new two-chamber Parliament.)

To be sure, Mr. Fraga's play is aimed at proving the Popular Alliance's conservative credentials rather than accusing Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez of treason. But it is a risky move since Mr. Suarez is considered King Juan Carlos's political alter ego. Top Spanish politicians warn that a government headed by Mr. Fraga could lead to labor unrest, street confrontations, press controls, and a long-term weakening of the monarchy.

Mr. Suarez reportedly believes only three present political leaders are prima minister material: himself, Mr. Fraga, and former Foreign Minister Jose Maria de Arellano. But Mr. Arellano recently resigned from the moderate

Democratic Center coalition in an apparent pre-election maneuver to convert the political group into an electoral vehicle for Mr. Suarez. Next came the news that Mr. Suarez will visit President Carter in Washington on April 28, a trip that political circles consider image building for elections.

Until Mr. Suarez formally decides whether to "rescue" the Center, all political alliances are fluid.

The Communists will push their Eurocommunist (independence from Moscow) line but may have trouble once long-time Stalinist Dolores (La Pasionaria) shuttles to the party's president, returns from her 38-year exile in Moscow. The party has gained among young people, workers, and the press.

The Communists will try to avoid giving Mr. Fraga ammunition. Subjunctive leader Juan Carlos recently reminded the 125-man Central Committee that the "general commotion" over the party's legalization "shows our path is narrow and that any unconsidered act can provoke catastrophic reaction for Spain and for democracy."

That warned militants to "cool it." The Communists are expected to try to win over militants of Felipe Gonzalez's Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) — the only way the Communists can build an Italian-like mass party. The PSOE's fears over losing its militants have made it alternate between radicalism (to keep the militants) and reconciliation (to maintain its present warm links with the moderate Socialist International). But the PSOE has yet to unite with various splinter socialist parties — and to many Spaniards there is no difference between a Socialist and a Communist.

Mr. Suarez's legalization of the Communists despite right-wing military opposition, plus his liberal electoral law, increase the likelihood that he will run. There is a widespread belief that only Mr. Suarez can maintain the momentum that has brought Spain so close to democracy so fast.

## Legislation of reds angers Spain's military

By Joe Gandelman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The Spanish Government's legalization of the Communist Party has angered top rightist military men. The question is how much power the rightists command within the armed forces today.

In an apparent protest against the lifting of the ban on the Communists, Navy Minister Gabriel Pita de Saavedra has resigned. He was one of four military men in Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez's Cabinet and the only remaining Francoist appointee.

The respected liberal Madrid daily El Pais said April 13 the admiral had accused Mr. Suarez of misleading Spain's military elite on his intentions concerning the Communists' legalization. Mr. Suarez and King Juan Carlos III, who were said to be trying to persuade him

not to resign, said they would wait until after the parliamentary elections slated for this June.

The Navy Minister's resignation is not entirely surprising, nor does it preclude (at least at this point) an all-encompassing reaction of the country's military leaders.

The Navy is the most conservative branch of the armed services. If the military were to stage a modern-day coup it would have to rely largely on the Air Force. And the Spanish Air Force today is the most liberal of the three services.

Spanish experts and Western diplomats point out that if rightist generals tried a coup, they might not have anyone to follow them, since middle officers and younger ranks are loyal to the King, who has extensive military training, a high place and has carefully nurtured his popularity.



# Europe

## From Soviet workers to the state: a free day's labor

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
Lena, a shop assistant, usually has Sunday off. But April 17 she took the bus to work as usual in Moscow. Her store was open, and she worked all day: for no pay.

Ivan, an office worker, usually shops with his family on Saturdays. But April 16 he, too, set off for a day's work. It was far from his usual desk, however: He shoveled broken bricks into trucks at a construction site near the famed Novodevichy Monastery, where Nikita Khrushchev is buried. Then he collected garbage into piles. He did not get paid for the day's work.

Galya put on her best spring dress and coat April 16 and went to her office building, — a government ministry. Then, in smock and green headscarf, she spent the morning cleaning floors and walls, and windows. She wasn't paid either.

Each of these four people was taking part in the Soviet system of having workers volunteer a day's work to the state once a year. The Tass news agency estimated that some 150 million workers took part April 16-17. Six million worked in Moscow alone, Tass said.

The official media spoke of this day of labor (known as a subbotnik, after the Russian word for Saturday) as showing the loyalty of the people to communist ideals. Television and newspaper reports stressed the voluntary nature of the work. "Real festivals of labor," one account called them.

In fact, every worker is expected to turn out, unless ill. Factories simply work an extra day, thus boosting production. TV programs

announce the day's output of trucks, refrigerators, and so on.

Money raised is allocated to local health and research centers, children's camps, schools, kindergartens, and sports stadiums, official accounts report.

This year was typical: Female office workers like Galya spruced up the interior of their offices. Male workers swept the streets and sidewalks, dug up the earth in flower beds, turned over grass strips, and collected trash.

University students and schoolchildren who routinely attend classes on Saturdays cleaned windows, floors, blackboards, and hallways April 17.

Women wore spring outfits as a mark of pride — even though they immediately put on protective clothing and wielded mops and brooms.

Man office workers gathered just after 9 a.m. at some sites there were speeches and music. At others men simply watched a central ceremony televised on the national network.

Red banners proclaiming the call to work hung across city streets. Side streets were filled with people sweeping, dusting, shoveling.

The tradition began in 1919 when Lenin was beset by the White armies in the civil war that followed World War I. Lenin appealed for extra efforts. Food was very short.

Today the subbotnik is considered important here mainly for ideological reasons — to underscore socialist devotion to work itself, and to emphasize the difference from Western societies, where by Soviet definition people work for money alone.



In front of the Winter Palace, Leningrad

By Stewart McKelvey

In April every Soviet worker is expected to work one day without pay

## A reporter in Moscow

Mr. Southerland, the Monitor's diplomatic correspondent, first visited the Soviet Union as a student, more than 15 years ago. He returned recently to report on Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's talks with the Soviets on strategic arms control.

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
The first thing a visitor to Moscow notices after an absence of many years is that the people in the Soviet capital are better dressed. This might mean that only one piece of a woman's ensemble could be called stylish. But there's been an unmistakable improvement in the quality of clothing.

"Everybody notices that," said a long-term foreign resident of Moscow. "Things do get a little better every year."

### Expectations rise

"The problem is that expectations rise even faster."

"Another problem," said a veteran Western diplomat, "is that while things keep getting a little better — while here things improve, let's say, 2 percent — in the Western countries, they improve 3 percent."

The leaders of this country have no idea of the realities of life in Russia," he said, referring specifically to the shortage of good potatoes on sale in the city of Moscow.

"None of them has been to the market," he said, continuing to speak of the Soviet leaders. "Talk with them about what's in the market and they don't believe it."

The newsmen who traveled to Moscow with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance complained bitterly about the price of their accommodations in the Soviet Union. Five nights in the Leningrad hotel in Moscow cost \$119.75, or \$119.95 a day. That's a lot of money for what they got — a small room and meals plus a promise of a car and interpreter.

Since many of the visiting reporters had their own well-established news bureaus in Moscow, the hotel's cars and interpreters were rarely used. This reporter, for one, used a car provided by the Leningrad hotel only once, and an interpreter not at all. Even if they didn't get the meals provided at the hotel — and this reporter missed many of

them — the newsmen paid. They considered all this a sign of excessive "rigidity" in the Soviet system.

But veterans of trips to the Soviet Union with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger noted improvements over the past in the service they got at the hotel. A special dining room was set up for the newsmen, and it stayed open longer than the average restaurant to accommodate the journalists' long working hours. A reception for the visiting newsmen featured caviar, a delicious cheese and mushroom dish, and excellent ice cream.

During Mr. Vance's talks with the Soviets in Moscow, there were moments when no one in a position of authority, on either the American or Soviet side, was saying anything about what was happening. Journalists were reduced to guessing meaning from Tass, the official Soviet news agency, or to looking for positive, or negative, signs in the slightest gesture made by those involved in the talks. When Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, showed up with Mr. Vance at the ballet, for instance, it was interpreted as a positive sign. But the real tip-off as to how things were going came when Tass announced cryptically, on the last day of the U.S.-Soviet meetings, that "a talk was held today in the Kremlin." Tass said little more than that.

Devoid of the usual descriptive phrases, the Tass announcement was so brief, and so lacking in detail or warmth, that it could only have meant one thing: The talks had not gone well.

A further tip-off came later in the day when Mr. Gromyko, in a toast at the luncheon given by Mr. Vance at the American Embassy residence, sounded as if he was lecturing the U.S. Secretary of State.

### Officials chit-chat

Just before the luncheon for Mr. Gromyko at the palatial American Embassy residence, an American reporter carefully edged his way past the assembled officials into a position close enough to Mr. Vance and Mr. Gromyko to hear what they were saying.

His chit-chatting on the outskirts of a Soviet general he listened carefully. What were the two stationing talking about? The weather. "Oh, that's very cold. Yes, very cold," Mr. Gromyko was saying.

## Muddle and corruption on the Russian farm

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
The head of one farm used state funds to build three extra homes for his brother and himself. The head of another kept more pigs than was permitted as his private property, fed them state food, sold them back to the state at a profit, was sacked, but ended up in a comfortable job at the Ministry of Agriculture through the ministrations of powerful friends.

Farmland in Byelorussia is producing less than half as much as similar land elsewhere in the nation. Reports are being falsified to make managers look good: one-quarter of all acres under winter wheat in one area existed only on paper. In industry, targets were revised downward for 19 out of 47 enterprises checked last December. The amount of expensive, imported machinery lying idle tripled in the first half of last year.

Only 8 percent of machine tools being made is of top quality. Managers are rushing into print and into television with worthless new "initiatives" while failing to implement genuinely helpful ideas. It all sounds like a blunt, Western attack on Soviet practices. But the details come from a just-delivered speech in Minsk by the head of the Communist Party in Byelorussia, the large republic in the extreme west of the Soviet Union.

And the complaints, notable in the speech for their pungency and variety, are a microcosm of shortcomings being mentioned in reports from all across the Soviet Union. They have been made by officials from Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev downward.

The Byelorussian party chief, Pyotr Mashurov, is also an alternate member of the all-powerful national Politburo in Moscow. Top leadership clearly is very concerned.

The complaints indicate urgent need for change, according to Western analysts here. More autonomy for local officials is needed, along with less centralized planning, more emphasis on quality, more incentives, greater productivity per worker. Few signs of such changes are visible, however.

Statistics released earlier this year for the national economy last year showed slow growth and lower-than-hoped productivity.

Moscow undoubtedly has achieved much in recent years in apartment construction and feeding and clothing its people better. But when the fifth largest republic (10 populations and area) is shown by its own party chief to be beset with mismanagement, corruption, and poor performance, much more remains to be done.

Byelorussia is about the same size as Kansas or Idaho, and larger than Florida and Illinois. It is known to most Russians as a Slavic area that organized underground resistance to the Nazis in World War II. Bordering on Poland, it is full of lakes and swamps.

### Crisis on crisis

In his speech in the republic's capital of Minsk, Mr. Mashurov also made it clear that Byelorussia was spilling over with economic crisis.

Managers are hiring more men instead of stepping up performance with more efficiency, he said in a speech given to the state committee, and covering four and a half pages of the state party newspaper.

An acute labor shortage looms. So slow are managers in installing machines that 57.1 percent of all construction work is still done by hand. More than one-third of all 66 collective and state farms have been dismissed in the past year. Mr. Mashurov spoke darkly of crooks and aspirations for private property.

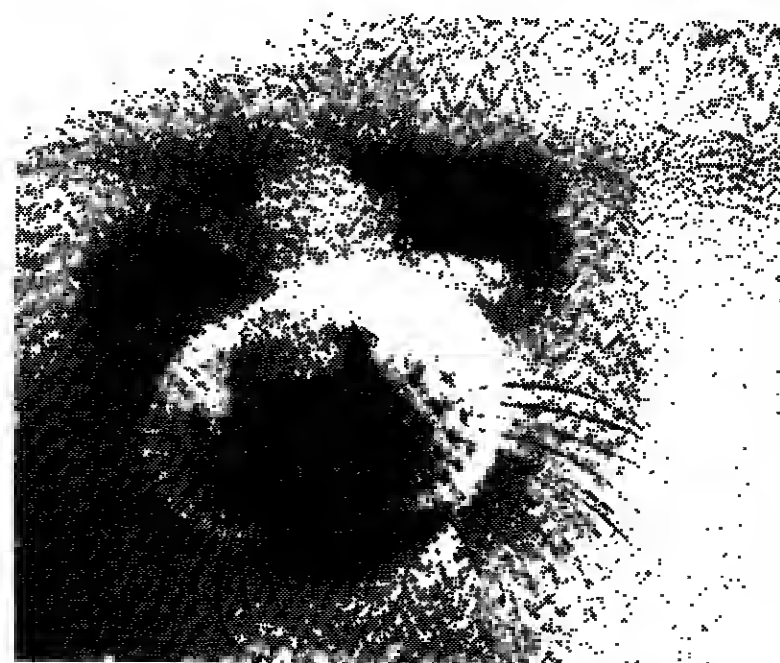
Mr. Mashurov appealed for better work, more honesty, more efficient management. Western analysts note other reports of rampant machinery lying idle, sometimes outside, rusting at factories producing tractors and atomic energy generators. Reports of drunkenness, and absenteeism come from Georgia to the south to the Russian Federation to the north.

The reports themselves indicate a growing willingness of Soviet officials to admit errors. They also strike directly against hopes to boost national growth through productivity in the

## Baby Seal Slaughter

### Canada Can Stop This If It Wants To

### LET THEM HEAR FROM YOU



This baby seal looks like he is smiling — he didn't look like that long. Moments later he was beaten to death by a Canadian or Norwegian scaler. The snow white pelt was slashed from his body and the bloody remains left before a frightened and bewildered mother seal. Tens of thousands like him meet brutal deaths beneath hard wooden clubs and steel hooks used by the sealers. The annual massacre began on March 15th off the northeast coast of Labrador on the so called Front.

THIS YEAR THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT HAS CONTROL OF ALL MARINE LIFE WITHIN 200 MILES OF THEIR SHORES. THEY COULD STOP THIS BARBARIC COMMERCIAL SLAUGHTER OF NEW BORN PUPS — IF THEY WANT TO.

In 1972 they did ban a similar hunt in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Why? Because people like you responded to our pleas for compassion and protest, until the pressure became overwhelming and the hunt was stopped.

Peace to the seals will come only if the public demands it.

These tiny helpless creatures provide nothing that man needs for his comfort or survival. The sickening fact is that the pelts are used for novelty fur and leather items such as leather bow ties, coin purses and even stuffed toy seal dolls.

Each year Brian Davies, Director of the INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR ANIMAL WELFARE has been on the ice with the seals and their killers. Last year he was arrested by Canadian officials for violation of the seal protection regulations. He landed the IFAW helicopter "too close" to the seals while they were being beaten to death. But, the IFAW defense was successful and all charges against Brian were dismissed by a court which ruled that Canadian jurisdiction last year did not extend to the waters where the hunt took place.

A few days ago, IFAW's battle of attrition began again. The IFAW arranged for journalists from the United States, Canada and other countries throughout the world to visit the seal hunt on the Front. As a result television will bring the gruesome reality of the seal slaughter to hundreds of millions of viewers all over the world.

### THE HUNT IS ON NOW — HELP MAKE THIS THE LAST ONE

IF THIS WORLD WIDE EXPOSURE OF THE BABY SEAL HUNT IS MET WITH DORMANT INDIGNATION — THE SEALS ARE DOOMED TO CONTINUED SLAUGHTER. Let the Canadian Government hear your strong protest. WRITE A LETTER, SEND A MAILGRAM OR MAKE A PHONE CALL. DIRECT ALL PROTESTS TO: Canadian Ambassador, Jack Hamilton Warren, 1746 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington D.C. 20036. Phone: 202-785-1400.

The IFAW is an activist organization. We believe in direct confrontation with those who unnecessarily destroy our wildlife. Unfortunately, these confrontations are expensive. Their past success has depended on wide spread public support. Their continuation will depend on CONTRIBUTIONS from all those who value our wildlife. In joining with us you will become a member of a powerful group of some 200,000 concerned people from many parts of the world. Please fill in the coupon and send it with your donation. Every dollar counts. Your contributions will be used to place this message in 195 newspapers throughout the United States and to help defray the cost of IFAW's expedition to the seals. Members will receive periodic newsletters that will keep them informed of the IFAW programs and their progress.

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE DEDUCTIBLE FOR FEDERAL INCOME TAX PURPOSES.

Here is my contribution to help end the seal hunt. Send to:  
International Fund for Animal Welfare  
P.O. Box 9744-CSI, Cleveland, Ohio 44140

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PROVINCE \_\_\_\_\_

# Europe

## France's economic plan:

## Giscard tries again

By Jim Browning  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris  
French President Giscard d'Estaing is drafting a new economic and social program aimed at keeping the left-wing opposition from taking control of Parliament at general elections less than one year away.

Most political observers are predicting a victory of the Socialist-Communist alliance in the parliamentary elections after its successes in last month's municipal elections. This has put a damper on business investment and consequently is helping to keep unemployment at a record high.

To discuss his program, the President invited all 40 members of the government to attend an unusual "seminar" April 15 and 16 at the Chateau de Rambouillet near Paris.

### Five-part program

Government and press statements suggest that the program, which will be announced to Parliament April 26, will contain at least five major parts:

- Continued guidelines to restrict wage and price increases and promote austerity;
- Special credits to business in return for industrial investment, job creation, and energy conservation;
- Incentives for early retirement;
- Incentives and special programs to hire the young — under 25 — who now make up an alarming 40 percent of the unemployed;
- Improved social benefits for the disadvantaged.

In a sense the new program will be a second installment of the so-called Barre plan, named for economist Raymond Barre, who was appointed Prime Minister last August by the President after the surprise resignation of Gaullist Jacques Chirac.

### Criticism sharp

The Barre plan, a tough and controversial austerity program, was sharply criticized by Mr. Chirac, who said parliamentary elections should have been held before austerity was introduced and not after. It was also bitterly opposed by the leftist opposition parties on the ground that it was unfair to the working class.

After the governing parties' sharp defeat in the March municipal elections, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing reshuffled his government and promised in a nationwide speech that his ministers would spend the next 12 months administering the nation rather than being engaged in politics.

The Rambouillet strategy session reflected the fact which the President recognized in his speech: unless he produces some specific and favorable economic results, he is likely to be facing a leftist-controlled Parliament one year from now.

With inflation creeping up again after the price freeze at the end of 1976, with unemployment at a record high, with business leaders predicting more layoffs, and with industrial production levels refusing to increase, the government is in a quandary.

It must increase jobs and production, but it also must maintain its austerity program, which in turn is helping to keep business activity down.

## U.S. approach to Communists irritates President Giscard

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

French President Giscard d'Estaing has offered some thinly veiled criticism of American policy toward West European Communist parties.

In his television interview April 12 he also confirmed that he disagrees with President Carter about how to advance the cause of human rights in Communist countries.

The French President denied that he had complained personally to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance about contacts between American diplomats and leaders of the French opposition.

But, he said: "I indicated to Mr. Vance [when the secretary of state was in Paris in early April] . . . that we did not appreciate having American leaders pass judgment on the interior politics of France, whatever the judgment may be."

In effect, the French leader appeared to be telling American officials that they were free to see whomever they liked but that they should stop making statements about the possibility of a victory by the Socialist-Communist alliance in the French legislative elections of March, 1978.

As American officials appear to be trying to

establish more friendly relations with the so-called Eurocommunist parties of Western Europe and with France's relatively left-wing Socialist Party, the French President appears to be keeping his distance from the United States, stressing instead his support for the still-popular doctrine of national independence.

On human-rights issues Mr. Giscard d'Estaing said a line should be drawn between "personal attitudes" and "relations between states." The French President said he favored action on human rights through diplomatic channels, notably on the basis of the Helsinki documents. That was why he had refused to meet Soviet dissident Andrei Amalrik at a time when President Carter was meeting another exiled dissident, Vladimir Bukovsky.

On general American-French friction involving the Concorde supersonic airliner, arms sales, and nuclear technology and proliferation, the President said:

"There are and there certainly will be problems, because the new government of the United States has taken new attitudes on a certain number of subjects. . . . Because French policy is independent and open, the possible solutions will have to be discussed. Up to now, they have not been." But Mr. Giscard d'Estaing said he agreed with President Carter's concern about nuclear proliferation.

## Farmers benefit from EEC aid

By Philip W. Whitcomb  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris  
When the European Economic Community (EEC) was solemnly created by the Treaty of Rome 20 years ago, the sole declared purpose was to enable all the producers of the signing nations to sell their products freely and on equal terms among themselves. This would keep all other nations more or less at bay by means of a community tariff wall.

Today, through the import duties which it collects from its nine members and also from direct contributions by member states, the EEC has an annual revenue of \$3.7 billion. In what way is this money used to carry out the original purposes of the community?

Four and one-half percent goes to aid for the

poorest regions of the EEC. An equal amount is spent in the enormous community headquarters in Brussels, with its commissions dealing with the multiple and highly intricate problems of fair and free trade between nations which have been, commercially, at daggers drawn for centuries. And 2.78 percent is given as aid to developing nations.

But, to the complete astonishment of many statesmen in attendance at the community's birth, 76 percent of the total revenue, \$2.74 billion a year in the budget for 1977, goes to that old-fashioned but essential group, the farmers of the nine nations.

To be specific, \$2 billion is awarded as bonus money to farmers to bring their revenues into line with those of industrial workers, and \$740 million is given in other aid. Figures show that French farmers get most of the money.



# Africa

## Soviets grow edgy over West's help for Zaire

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
From the Soviet standpoint, the situation in Zaire is worsening. Moscow appears concerned at the damage that could be done to its own image, and to those of Angola and Cuba, if President Mobutu Sese Seko scroa succeeds against the invasion forces there.

Sustained Soviet criticism of Western and Arab help for President Mobutu prompts Western analysts here to say that Soviet apprehension is rising.

The latest evidence of this, analysts say, was the first direct comment on Western aid to General Mobutu from Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in the Kremlin late April 18.

Mr. Brezhnev criticized "imperialist forces and their henchmen." Those who "broaden" the conflict "must give serious thought to the consequences," he said, in a brief reference during a dinner toast for visiting Syrian President Hafez al-Assad.

Earlier in the day Preveda, the Communist Party newspaper, ran a commentary in which Valeri Volkov summed up weeks of criticism by blaming the United States, China, Morocco, France, and Sudan for helping Zaire.

As Western analysts here see it, Moscow is suddenly face to face with the prospect of a vengeful President Mobutu, helped by Morocco, the United States, France, and Egypt, forcing back the invaders and perhaps launching "hot pursuit" raids across the Angolan border.

It is taken for granted here that the Katanga invaders could not have crossed the Angolan border into Zaire without the knowledge of the Cubans in Angola, who hold key positions in the Angolan economic and military hierarchies.

Thus, it is believed, the Angolans and the Soviets also must have been aware of the invasion plans — though it is not known whether the Soviets knew of the exact timing or scale of the invasion.

In the early days, with the Katangans meeting little resistance in the sparsely populated region of Shaba in Zaire, there seemed little threat to Moscow's position in Africa or to its principal allies.

But in recent days, with President Mobutu claiming that the most dangerous point has passed and with Moroccan troops fighting with him, the Soviet Union has adopted a new note of sternness and concern in its reaction.

The Soviet strategy has been to:

- Reject all allegations that the Soviet Union or Cuba or Angola is behind the invasion. On April 17 Pravda called such allegations malicious invention.

- To proclaim repeatedly that no outside interference is admissible in Zaire's affairs (The Soviets draw no parallel between western help for Zaire and Soviet aid for what now is the government party of Angola during the Angolan civil war.)

- To portray the invasion as a purely internal uprising, referring to the invaders by the self-styled name of the Congolese National Liberation Front.

- To condemn NATO countries led by the United States for aiding President Mobutu. Washington's sole purpose, in Kremlin eyes, to protect rich mineral resources in Zaire.

- To bring as much pressure as possible to bear on those helping General Mobutu's forces. For example, the Foreign Ministry is said to have protested strongly to the Moroccan embassy here a few days ago about Moroccan troops fighting for General Mobutu.

And on April 17 Pravda's veteran commentator Yuri Zhukov came up with his sinister reasons the West is sending help to President Mobutu.

The first: The West is trying to sow dissension among African states to stop the fighting the real enemy — Imperialism.

The second: The West is trying to draw Arab states into the struggle against black African states.

The newspaper of the Soviet armed forces, Red Star, April 17 criticized Western help to General Mobutu.

And Soviet media have blasted Peking for support, accusing China of acting as an accomplice of imperialism and reaction.

## South Africa

## What it means to be 'banned'

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg  
She sat on a big cushion on the floor. She wore a long skirt, the latest in high heels, big earrings. She talked. She enjoyed talking. She was eloquent.

Because she seemed so free, one had to keep reminding oneself that this particular black woman was banned. In other words, her actions had been declared restricted by the South African Government.

One of the affects of this is that what she and other black men and women like her think and say is prevented by law from reaching white South Africans. (There are whites as well as blacks "banned" in South Africa, but the whites are nearly always those who have some understanding of black grievances and take a public stand sympathetic toward them.)

Of the great majority of white South Africans, very few have ever talked to a banned person. In fact, although banning has been in force here for more than 20 years, most South Africans do not know exactly what it entails.

Under banning orders, which are usually for a five-year period, a person may be: prevented from holding certain jobs in South Africa; prohibited from being in gatherings; barred from having writings or other works published; restricted to a certain house or area; and required to report to the police at certain times.

The scope of banning orders is so broad that no specific reason needs to be given by the government for the order, and a person cannot

appeal in court against the order.

People used to take banning orders very seriously, but now that the mood of blacks in urban areas has changed so dramatically since the unrest of last year, detentions and bannings are taken increasingly for granted.

"Being banned is just like being black. . . . It is part of being black. I'm used to it," the banned black woman said.

For many white people, banning is an acute form of social ostracism. "People don't come to see you. They feel they are putting you in unnecessary danger. They think something must be wrong with you if you are banned."

Banned people have few choices. They can sink into depression and paranoia if they are not mentally strong. Or they may flee South Africa altogether if their banning orders restrict them to a remote part of the country.

Or they can ignore the banning orders as much as possible, carefully, of course, so as not to be detected.

"I never leave directly from home. I go right round and round, and I borrow cars when I go outside my restricted area," the banned black woman said.

Many banned people are barred from discussing politics with anyone. "It is quite difficult to draw a line between social problems and politics," she said. "Just define politics for me!"

People banned by the government are generally deeply involved in the community. For example last November, about 30 people were banned who were in some way connected with workers or labor unions.

Others banned last year included literacy workers, a librarian, a lecturer, and a medical student at the University of Cape Town, and an architect at the Institute of Race Relations. The last official public count of those under banning orders was in July, 1976, and listed 13 whites and 95 blacks.

In 1953 during the first bannings, which were under the then Minister of Justice John Vorster, labor leaders were also prima targets. Until last year bannings were carried out under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. But in 1976 the Internal Security Act replaced the 1950 act and enlarged the scope or reasons from communism to endangering state security.

Some of the most articulate people in the country are banned. Restrictions can therefore be a hard blow for them.

"By nature I'm gregarious," the banned black woman said. "In jail [solitary confinement] I used to play games — I would pretend my friends were playing with me. They would take their turns and I would take mine."

"Sometimes it was so lonely I wanted to ask them [the police] to come and beat me again. Anything . . . just to see people. . . . Often I would sit there and plan my country."

The same thing now happens in the stretches of quiet during banning. "It [banning] is," she said, "technically speaking, more prison. People are either made or broken by it."

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## Pro-West guerrillas still active in Angola

By Helen Gibson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon  
Reports from travelers reaching Lisbon and an Angolan Government announcement a fortnight ago confirm that pro-Western guerrilla movements have resumed operations inside Angola and are making problems for the Angolan Army and the Cuban troops supporting it.

Angolans arriving in Lisbon in recent days said the Cuban troops spearheading Marxist President Agostinho Neto's anti-guerrilla campaign have been bottled up in the towns of the agricultural regions south of Luanda and that, as a result, very little food was reaching the capital.

One woman who arrived in Lisbon recently from Luanda said: "It was lack of food in the capital that forced us to leave. There hasn't been anything in the market for the past two weeks."

Her sister, who lives in the Angolan coastal agricultural market town of Novo Redondo, south of Luanda, told her that almost all roads out of town were closed because of ambushes and mines set up by the pro-Western "liberation" movement UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi.

A government statement broadcast by Radio Angola April 15 admitted for the first time that UNITA troops are still operating deep inside Angola. The statement said that 45 "peaceful



UNITA's Savimbi still challenges . . .

peasants were barbarously assassinated" and that 30 more were injured by guerrillas attacking a village in a heavily populated agricultural region 550 miles southeast of Luanda.

The radio said troops had been sent into the



Angolan President Neto

field to run down the guerrillas, who had struck April 11.

A fortnight ago, South African officials said that Angolan refugees have fled into South-West Africa to escape clashes between

UNITA and government troops just across the border.

Diplomats in Lisbon said they are receiving similar reports but voice skepticism over the complete veracity of the Radio Angola broadcast. They point out that the attacked village is in the middle of the Silva Porto region, a traditional UNITA-dominated stronghold.

"It is questionable that the people killed were really peaceful peasants," one said. "It seems more probable that the UNITA people hit a government post set up by the government and the Cubans to regain control of the area."

The reported clash in the Silva Porto region reflected the inability of the government to establish control over Angola despite the help of 15,000 Cuban troops and sophisticated Soviet weaponry.

The UNITA forces are reported to have stockpiled enough arms and ammunition in the jungle before the end of Angola's civil war in 1975 to be capable of carrying out their operations without outside help.

Newsman who recently visited UNITA areas of operation said these weapons were being supplemented by guns captured from the Cuban and government troops operating against them.

Angolans arriving in Lisbon said the security situation has become much worse in recent weeks. They said government troops had to move in force to avoid being ambushed in UNITA areas, which appear to be expanding.

## Why S. Africa's Namibia plan isn't selling

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg  
The South African scheme for moving Namibia (South-West Africa) to independence is chugging along almost on schedule. But up ahead a section is missing in the track.

That section is international recognition.

Few, if any countries, are prepared at present to say they will recognize the South African scheme to grant independence to the territory, which South Africa rules in defiance of UN resolutions. The plan is called Turnhalle, after the building where the constitutional talks were held.

The world view is clarifying around the fact that thousands of South African police and soldiers will remain in the territory, and South African civil servants will continue to run its administration even after Namibia is declared independent.

Namibia therefore is likely to repeat the experience of Transkei, the first tribal homeland to be granted independence by South Africa. So far no country has recognized Transkei as an independent state.

In Namibia a referendum is scheduled for May 17 for whites to decide if they want to accept the Turnhalle constitution.

Despite noisy, but quickly squashed, opposition to the constitution from its right wing, the Namibian National Party has announced it will campaign for acceptance. The party has along ties to the ruling National Party in South Africa.

Also, the Federal Party, which won 25 percent of the vote in

the last white election, has said that it will support the Turnhalle scheme.

But, despite reports of some Arab interest in the Turnhalle plan, the general international picture is turning from "wait and see" to "no."

In fact, five Western countries — Canada, the United States, Britain, France, and West Germany — submitted similar notes to the South African Government recently saying that the Turnhalle does not satisfy world opinion.

The notes contained demands that an independent Namibia should have a government based on national instead of tribal grounds. There are 11 ethnic groups in the territory, and the South African scheme would preserve these as they were delineated under the apartheid system (separation of the races).

Another tendentious issue is the area of Walvis Bay, Namibia's main port. South African Prime Minister John Vorster says South Africa will maintain control over the port.

Meanwhile, Namibia's black nationalist group, the South-West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), has been garnering support from Cuba's President Fidel Castro and the Soviet Union's President Nikolai Podgorniy, both of whom were recently in Africa.

Africaas are planning to face the Namibia issue again at a conference in Mozambique in May.

As a reminder of the continuing guerrilla war in the territory, the South African Government announced in Parliament recently that 231 SWAPO guerrillas had been killed since 1975. In contrast, South African forces fighting them tallied 33 fatalities.

## Buoyed, Smith resumes talks

Compiled from news agency dispatches

Buoyed by a personal mandate from the ruling all-white party in Rhodesia, Prime Minister Ian Smith seems eager to resume negotiations on transferring power to the country's black majority.

But black nationalist guerrillas remain unconvinced of Mr. Smith's readiness to hand over power to them. And Robert Mugabe, one of the leaders of the nationalist Patriotic Front, told Rhodesians via Radio Mozambique that settlement could come only "through a bazooka."

In a special congress April 19, the ruling Rhodesian Front gave Mr. Smith a mandate to negotiate with British Foreign Secretary David Owen on new Anglo-American proposals for a settlement conference leading to majority rule.

"I am now awaiting an approach from Dr. Owen, who has to contact other people and clear the line, and then I believe he will communicate with me," Mr. Smith told reporters.

Rhodesian Front sources said that in his address to the congress, Mr. Smith gave a somber picture of Rhodesia's security problems and economic difficulties, which include the departure of a growing number of whites.

Although party sources had said the Prime Minister might have a tough time winning the necessary support from the congress, delegates apparently were swayed by Mr. Smith by Dr. Owen's stated intention to safeguard the interests of Rhodesia's 270,000 whites and by the Foreign Secretary's cauter to the Rhodesian television interview April 17.

On returning to London after his African tour, Dr. Owen spoke of skepticism "at most verging on disbelief" as to whether Mr. Smith's government intended to relinquish power to the blacks. And he warned of a vicious backlash if the white Rhodesians went into negotiations in bad faith.

Mr. Mugabe, joint leader with Joshua Nkomo of the Patriotic Front, had attended a quickly assembled summit of the presidents of the five "front line" states bordering Rhodesia.

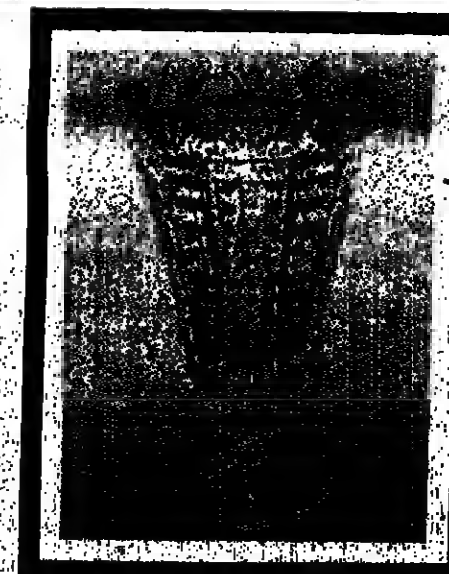
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## Rethinking at the Pentagon

By John Dilla  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Does America really need the growing array of sophisticated strategic weapons like the M-X missile, the Trident submarine, and the B-1 bomber planned for the 1980s and 1990s?

This new generation of awesome weapons is taking shape under the guidance of Pentagon strategists, some of whom have sharply altered their thinking in the last few years about possible conflict with the Soviet Union. It was publicly revealed for the first time early this year by the Secretary of Defense and other Pentagon officials that they now believe that U.S. capability must be greatly increased to maintain its ability to deter war.

Previously, Pentagon strategy had called for nuclear strikes on Soviet cities in case the Russians triggered an atomic war. This was felt to be enough. As former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara observed in 1969:

"I would judge that a capability on our part to destroy . . . one-fifth to one-fourth of the [Soviet] population and one-half of her industrial capacity would serve as an effective deterrent."

However, this deterrent policy is no longer sufficient, according to defense specialists. New Soviet weapons, they say, are complicating U.S. deterrent strategy and are requiring a more flex-

ible American response to possible attack.

Pentagon analysts insist that the U.S. defense posture must have two new characteristics which require far

### Analysis

more sophisticated weapons. These requirements could greatly complicate the task of arms negotiators who meet again for talks in May.

First, Pentagon experts claim that to counter Soviet strength effectively, America must have the ability to wipe out not only cities — but also hardened industrial sites, military bases, and missile silos.

In other words, they say the destruction of the Soviet Union must be so complete after a nuclear exchange that it will insure that the Soviets will be unable to recover as an industrial or military power at a faster rate than the United States.

Second, analysts say, the United States must have the ability to counter a "limited" nuclear attack by the Soviets. Such an attack might be against U.S. military forces in Europe or at sea or against American strategic missile sites in the United States.

The Soviets, with new, large, accurate missiles, are acquiring the ability to pinpoint and destroy U.S. missiles — even those in hardened silos. Given this ability, experts warn that the Soviets might launch an attack to knock

out America's land-based missiles and bombers, while leaving U.S. cities untouched. America's cities then could be held hostage, while the Soviets would hold an upper hand with other missiles they had held in reserve in hardened silos of their own.

The old American strategy — attack the cities — required only relatively simple weapons. Cities are "soft" targets that are easily destroyed by weapons that are only marginally accurate.

Hardened targets, like missile silos, can be destroyed only with very accurate weapons.

Pentagon planners now call for a strategic force of 8,500 warheads, many of them to be delivered by highly-accurate land-based, mobile missiles and by penetrating B-1 bombers that can lay their nuclear explosives right on the targets.

Is all of this really necessary? Sen. George McGovern (D) of South Dakota claims much of the recent furor over strategic strategy reflects "near hysteria" among defense supporters.

"What do we need for deterrence? . . . There is no way to calculate exactly how much of the Soviet Union we must be able to destroy in order to deter an attack," the Senator says.

"But, if precise calculations are not possible, there are some rough ways to determine when the point of diminishing returns has been reached. The

Soviet Union has some 219 cities with populations in excess of 100,000 people. And if a Soviet leader will not be deterred by the guaranteed destruction of those cities, he is not likely to be further deterred by our ability to destroy smaller communities and villages."

Countering that viewpoint, former Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld argued in January that a deterrent aimed only at Soviet cities lacks credibility. "Would the U.S. risk destruction of major American cities, if the Soviets launched a nuclear attack aimed only at overseas military targets?" he wondered.

President Carter and the Congress face some quick decisions on the issue of strategic military policy. The Soviets are pushing ahead with their own modernization programs at a rapid rate, administration officials say.

Going ahead with the full range of Pentagon requests would put strategic spending at nearly \$11 billion in the next fiscal year. That would climb another \$2 to \$4 billion in the following year.

A policy of limited deterrence against Soviet cities would shave nearly \$3 billion off the fiscal year 1978 budget — and would save over \$5 billion a year by fiscal 1980, the budget office calculated.

Savings would come primarily from cancellation of the B-1 and M-X missile projects.

## New York: Politics smudge Soviet art exhibition

By Diana Loecherer  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
With its current exhibition of Russian and Soviet painting opening April 16, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has plunged into another controversy.

The Met, which innocently negotiated a series of exchange exhibitions with the Soviet Ministry of Culture during a mellow period of détente in 1974, now finds itself in the embarrassing position of having mounted a show that is being accused of allowing Soviet censorship and discrimination against Jews.

The exhibition states that it surveys "the full range of painting in Russia from the 14th century to the present," writes Met director Thomas Hoving in his catalogue. It has "all the principal trends of Russian and Soviet painting," according to John E. Bowlt, associate professor at the University of Texas at Austin, who served as special consultant to the exhibition. Although representing art from the 21 Soviet republics, however, the exhibition is devoid of any "unofficial" art by so-called "dissident" artists in the Soviet Union, many of whom happen to be Jews. Moreover, the show displays an abundance of "official" Soviet art in the social realist style, often considered an illustration of Communist propaganda.

Neither the Met's catalogue nor its press release mentions the existence of "unofficial" art. The closest approach to comment is Mr. Bowlt's statement that "the condition of contemporary Soviet painting is self-evident and needs little commentary."

On the same day the press preview of the show at the Met, the American Jewish Congress held a press conference at the Stephen Wise Congress House. The group announced the opening of its own "counter-exhibition" called "The Art of Freedom," which consists of works by four Soviet Jewish émigré artists whose works could not be shown in the Soviet Union.

The best known of the artists is Ernest Neizvestny, the Soviet sculptor who verbally attacked Premier Nikita Khrushchev for repression of artists at an exhibition of modern art in 1962.



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, lent by the Russian Museum, Leningrad  
Poetess Anna Akhmatova, by N. I. Akhman, 1914

He left the Soviet Union last year, after enduring more than 10 years of harassment.

At the press conference, Mr. Neizvestny served as spokesman for the Jewish congress and other artists. He stressed that, while they were not protesting the exhibition at the Met per se, they were protesting the fact that it allows "all the ex-

cellencies in the Soviet Union to express their self-consciousness except for the Jews."

In the counter-exhibition, Mr. Neizvestny displayed 10 paintings and drawings from his "Vizor" series, which commemorates the persecution of Jews throughout the ages.

The sculptor made the further point that dissident art represents not just art by Jews, but religious art by artists of other faiths, social and political satire, and even art that falls into such nebulous categories as abstract or "Personal," relating to the concerns of the individual.

Mr. Neizvestny also claimed that some of the art on view at the Met "is not permitted to exist publicly in Russia." He considered "unofficial" art and are mostly kept in storage.

Mr. Neizvestny admitted that there are works in the exhibition by two living nonconformist artists, Otar Kendraurov and Dmitri Plavinsky. But he added that the content of those particular works is inoffensive to the government.

James Pilgrim, Met deputy vice-director of curatorial affairs, who played a major role in dealing with the Russians, stated flatly that "it was very largely their [the Russians'] exhibition. There was an overrepresentation of contemporary paintings that they wanted, and of weak icons. In return, we got Malevich, Kandinsky, and Popova. There was hard give and take on both sides, but the fact that we even got these works must be considered a step forward."

Mr. Pilgrim's interpretation is consistent with general opinion that the attitude of the Soviet Government toward its dissident painters and sculptors has softened somewhat.

Mr. Hoving, however, in a separate conversation, denied that the issue of nonconformist art even came up, either with regard to the catalog of the exhibition, because the "Soviet" did not recognize any artists other than union artists. They decided what they wanted to have exhibited because this catalog represents their official position. The only disagreement we had over which paintings would be included pertained to condition and practically, not politics. . . . What I'm trying to avoid is politicization."

## Heroin: Washington struggles to break the 'Mexican connection'

By Gary Thatcher  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

El Paso, Texas  
The "Mexican connection" is holding fast, despite major efforts to unclasp it.

Mexico continues to be the primary heroin supplier for U.S. addicts and addicts, a position it attained in the early 1970s when the infamous "French connection" was broken.

Nearly 90 percent of the heroin reaching the United States illegally comes through Mexico, according to Don Dougherty, spokesman for the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Both Mexican and U.S. authorities have mounted major efforts to eradicate fields of opium poppies, the source of the gum from which Mexican brown heroin is made. Since January, 1975, more than 15,000 acres have been sprayed with herbicides.

But the effect in the U.S. on the price, availability, and purity of heroin has been minimal, according to police in many U.S. cities.

Why does "Mexican brown" linger on U.S. streets even as more and more Mexican fields are being sprayed?

One theory is that Mexican farmers are simply harvesting the bright red, purple, and white

fields earlier, before chemical-spraying helicopters swoop down on them.

Other elements are emerging in the intricate illicit drug traffic moving to the U.S. through its neighbor to the south, according to intelligence analysts at the Drug Enforcement Administration's El Paso intelligence center here.

• Use of airplanes — especially stolen ones — by smugglers is on the upswing. Some studies by the center here indicate at least 40 percent of the aircraft stolen in the U.S. are eventually used in drug running.

Federal agents are using more transponders (hidden radio transmitters) to pinpoint the location of suspect planes. But smugglers can purchase electronic devices to sweep their planes and discover such hidden "bugs."

• Ships are playing an increasingly important role in bringing drugs north from the Caribbean.

Some shrimp boat crews from southern U.S. ports, notably New Orleans and Biloxi, Miss., are suspected of bringing drugs to shore. And the practice of pirating foreign boats and pressing them into drug running is making headlines.

## New Jersey nest for Concorde?

By George Moneyhun  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Newark, New Jersey

While residents around Kennedy International Airport take to the streets to demonstrate their opposition to testing the supersonic Concorde in New York, Mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark, New Jersey, sits behind his desk across the Hudson River and quietly asks: "Why not in Newark?"

Soft spoken and direct, Mayor Gibson says most of the noise about the proposed SST landings is strictly political. "I don't think any of those people who are most vocal about the SST has ever seen or heard it," he argues. "I'm only asking that we let it be tested."

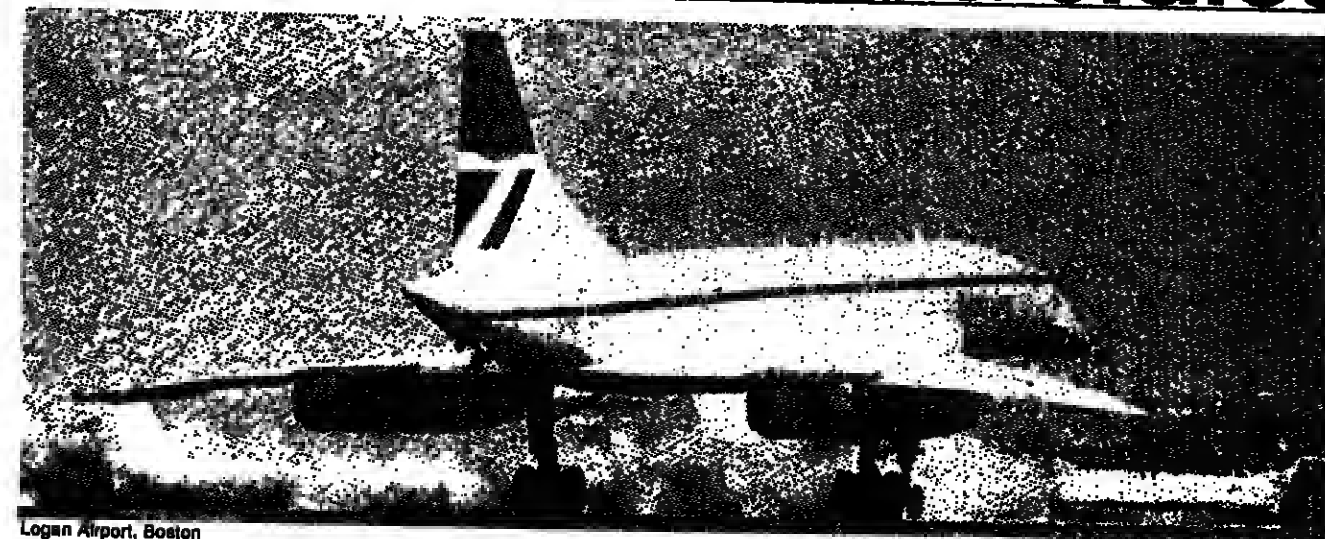
Foes of the Concorde supersonic transport defied a court order April 17 and used several hundred cars to stage a noisy but ineffective attempt to tie up operations at Kennedy Airport.

Estimates of the number of cars participating in the demonstration ranged from 500 to 700.

[According to a Reuters dispatch out of London, a British Government-sponsored report released April 19 concludes that Concorde should be banned from London's Heathrow Airport at night and during the evening and early morning hours because of its noise.]

[The Noise Advisory Council group, which advises the government on aircraft noise, said the supersonic aircraft is significantly noisier on takeoff than any other commercial plane. The council took measurements of Concorde's noise during its first eight months of scheduled service between London and Bahrain and Washington.]

[In its report, figures showed that at five kilometers (about three miles) from the start of the takeoff roll, the noise from



Logan Airport, Boston  
By Peter Main, staff photographer

Supersonic Concorde: will turn over use of New York airports force a landing in Newark?

the Concorde amounted to 135 perceived noise decibels compared with 113.6 for Boeing 707s.]

It is not surprising that officials in Newark might look favorably on allowing the SST to be tested at Newark International Airport — the most underutilized of the three major airports in the Metropolitan New York area. Some \$400 million was invested in building three separate air terminals for the airport to ease air traffic congestion at Kennedy and La Guardia.

However, only two of Newark's terminals are in operation, and the third, "international" terminal remains only a huge incomplete shell of cement and glass.

Gradually, Newark has been gaining a bigger percentage of the air traffic here, but figures recently released by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey show passenger traffic at Kennedy in the past year was 21 million; at La Guardia, 14 million; and at Newark, 6.7 million.

Mayor Gibson and his planners are not interested in the SST

per se. They think the introduction of the SST would be followed by a rush of other international air carriers to their still sparkling new — and half empty — airport. "We'd become a hub of international air traffic," exults David S. Dennis, executive director of the Mayor's Policy and Development Office.

Funds for a rapid-transit system extending from Newark to several other cities in northern New Jersey and a modernized people-mover connecting rapid transit to the airport have already been approved, with contracts to be let by the end of this year.

Newark planners say the Concorde would serve as an economic magnet, bringing new people, investment, and jobs into the area.

However, they concede that current prospects of getting the SST are slim. While the British and French have shown some interest in Newark, they have focused their efforts on winning approval to land their supersonic jet at Kennedy. Newark officials hope that when a decision on test-landing the plane is finally made, Newark will be a "compromise" choice.

The Port Authority commissioners have been delaying their decision on whether to permit test landings, and the British and French have filed suit in federal court to compel the Port Authority to allow the tests. A long court battle and many appeals are expected.

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# Middle East

## Is 'peace fruit' ripening?

By Jim Browning  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

It was an optimistic-sounding Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon who came through Paris recently, talking of a possible Geneva conference later this year and of peace in the Middle East by the end of the 1970s.

Some of that may have been aimed at Israel's coming elections, but according to French and Israeli diplomats, there are indeed some favorable signs:

- The new American administration's moves on the Middle East, while still ambiguous, tend to be viewed positively.
- The French think the Soviet Union also is exerting a positive influence by moderating its tone and stressing the right of Israel to exist.
- The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), weakened by the Lebanon fighting, is seen as more open to compromise, as are Arab countries.

• Particularly gratifying for the Israelis, the French have softened their position on Israel, a clear sign that "rapprochement" is in the air.

"There are moments in history when one feels that the fruit is ripe," Mr. Allon told reporters after he saw French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud April 18. "Certain events make one think that, toward the end of the decade, peace will probably be established in the Middle East."

### Mora balanced

He noted with special approval that French Middle East policy "is becoming a bit more balanced."

The Israelis all are not happy about French arms sales and economic cooperation with Arab countries, nor with the fact that French votes at the United Nations tend to lean toward the Arabs.

But whereas French President Giscard d'Estaing once talked of a need for a "Palestinian state," the French now have returned to the more ambiguous formula of a "Palestinian homeland." French officials scoffed at the notion just a few weeks ago, but now they say they can imagine the possibility of a homeland that would be part of a state with Jordan — an idea Israel has been actively promoting.

The French position marks a step toward Israel, but is not necessarily a step away from the Arabs whose friendship France values as much as ever.

## For Egypt: a slice of economic pie

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Athens  
Egyptian President Sadat's recent trip to the United States and help from Arab oil states has lifted Egypt's short-term economic prospects out of the slump suffered when violent price riots exploded in Egypt last January.

Bankers and other Mideast economic analysts say that new purchase agreements with U.S. firms and a fresh \$1.075 billion slice of assistance from the Gulf Authority for the Development of Egypt (GADE) — Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar — have apparently enabled Egypt to pay all installments due April 15 on its \$12 billion foreign non-military debts.

In the United States — although Mr. Sadat did not conclude any arms agreements — his staff firming up purchase agreements for foods, consumer goods, machinery, and participation of U.S. firms in construction projects worth \$1.6 billion, the Cairo daily newspaper Al-Ahram reported.

Egyptian Government price subsidies, whose removal sparked the January troubles, are being maintained on essential foods like breadstuffs and cooking oil. But Mr. Sadat's government is committed to gradually cutting other subsidies and has already made other reforms in investment exchange rates proposed by the World Bank and Egypt's main creditors.

Egyptian Economy Minister Hamed al-Sayeh stayed on in the U.S., after President Sadat left April 7, to discuss future U.S. economic aid to Egypt, which this year totals about \$1 billion.

President Sadat's senior economic adviser, Deputy Premier for Financial and Economic Affairs Abdel Monem al-Kasbi, visited the GADE countries to finalize arrangements for the \$1.075 billion assistance and to persuade Egyptians living in the oil states to invest in property development schemes in Egypt.

Of the \$1.075 billion, \$625 million from the Gulf states is paying Egypt's short-term debt and interest payments to banks or on export credits granted by Western governments. Total GADE aid so far this year is \$1.725 billion.

A Eurodollar loan financed by Chase Manhattan Bank, Ltd., of London and underwritten by GADE is supplying the remaining \$250 million in a loan agreement scheduled for signing in London April 26. The loan was subscribed by \$25 million, London financial sources reported.

Another \$400 million outstanding on GADE's earlier aid commitments to Egypt will pay other short-term debts and finance



By Steven

### Sadat: something worth smiling about

development projects. In January, GADE lent Egypt \$12 billion at 5 percent to be repaid in 7½ years, after a three-year grace period.

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait also agreed to defer repayment loans worth more than \$2.043 billion. A multinational bank consortium for aid to Egypt agreed to supply \$182 million in national funds for widening and deepening of the Suez Canal, being carried out by a Japanese firm.

Deputy Prime Minister Kaissouni predicted during his visit that Egypt's \$1 billion arms debt to the Soviet Union would be rescheduled soon. The Moscow government's failure to agree to this since 1974 has been one of the main irritants in Soviet-Egyptian relations which deteriorated further when Mr. Sadat accused the Soviets and Egyptian Communists of organizing the January troubles.

## Saudis leaning to PLO

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens  
Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd bin Abdel Aziz, King Khalid's most powerful policy-maker, has endorsed the militant Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) position on peace negotiations with Israel.

This Saudi stand, if confirmed in practice, could lead to a more militant approach by the front-line Arab states — Egypt, Syria and Jordan — some Mideast commentators say.

Prince Fahd told the London-based Mideast news magazine Events that UN Security Council Resolution 242 is out of date. Resolution 242 is the basic 1967 UN peace document. It calls for Israeli withdrawal from conquered Arab land, security guarantees for all states behind secure and recognized boundaries, and just settlement of the refugee problem. It makes no specific reference to Palestinians or Palestinian rights.

Egypt, Jordan, and Israel all accepted it, but

each has its own particular interpretations.

The Saudi Crown Prince, expected to visit U.S. President Carter in Washington by June, used arguments against Resolution 242 identical with those the PLO voiced at the last two parliamentary sessions of its governing Palestine National Council (PNC) in June, 1974, and March, 1977.

Saudi Arabia is probably the PLO's largest single financial backer. Prince Fahd told Events he does not think the PLO will reject a Geneva peace conference as the framework for a settlement.

The PLO, he said, is not so much concerned with the framework of a settlement as with its content. This must recognize that the question of the Palestinian people is the essence of the Middle East problem.

There can be no just peace in the region, he said, without a just solution to this question, a solution that recognizes the legitimate rights of the Palestinians as people and not just a group of refugees, as is implied in Resolution 242. This is also the PLO position.

## Qaddafi's growing feud with Egypt

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Algiers  
While Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi apparently interests himself in the Panama Canal problem, his relations with Egyptian President Sadat deteriorate daily.

On April 12, the scheduled arrival date of Panama President Omar Torrijos for his first official visit to Libya, the state radio there called on Arab League states to move the league's headquarters out of Cairo because of "conspiracies" raised in Egypt "against the struggling Arab peoples."

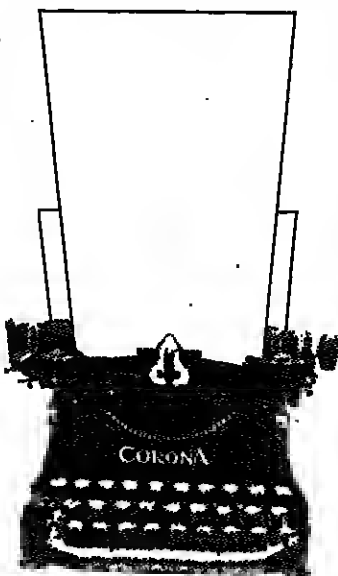
Diplomatic sources said Libya's government apparently made a formal request for the league's removal from Cairo after a recent attack by Egyptian demonstrators on the Libyan consulate in Alexandria.

Over the past several weeks, some Egyptians and other Arab nationals have been refused entry at Libyan airports, although over 200,000 Egyptians hold jobs, many of key importance, in Libyan commerce, education, and administration.

As he prepared for talks with Panama President Torrijos, Col. Qaddafi was silent on charges by the London-based Amnesty International organization that he tried and executed in secret some 22 Libyan officers.

The Egyptian media first reported on April 3 that there had been secret executions in Libya. The reports said the executions had been carried out within military units in Libya. Col. Qaddafi was previously reported to have confirmed 33 capital sentences, shortly after executions in Egypt last month of five alleged pro-Libyan terrorists.

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# Asia

## For India, a more friendly Peking may be just a fortnight away

By Mahao Ram  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi  
Look for a significant breakthrough in Indian-Chinese relations soon — possibly in the next fortnight. That is the forecast of informed sources in the Indian capital who say that China has seen new possibilities as a result of the recent change of government here.

Cautious diplomatic soundings by the Chinese Government have met with a ready Indian response.

According to these sources, the improvement will come about in three areas: a people-to-people cultural exchange, and in economic and political relations.

The new Indian administration, under Prime Minister Morarji Dasai, says it is committed to a policy of genuine non-alignment. It is attempting a realignment of relations with the Soviet Union, the United States, and China to free itself from

the foreign policy of the Indira Gandhi government it succeeded.

Chinese-Indian relations essentially have been in a deep freeze since the 1962 border war. There have been many deceptive thaws since the post-Cultural Revolution peace offensive by the Chinese in 1969, including the agreement last year to exchange ambassadors again. But the 1971 Indian-Soviet peace and friendship treaty — which China took to be a military pact aimed at it — turned back the clock for normal relations between the two Asian neighbors.

But the Dasai government, while not repudiating the 1971 treaty with the Soviets, is in effect building a fence around it. The Soviet Union will remain an important element of Indian foreign policy, and the scale of cooperation in trade and military affairs is such that any process of disengagement would take years. But everything points to a deliberate effort on the part of the Dasai government to try to check Soviet influence

in the Indian subcontinent, unlike the Gandhi regime days when it was permitted by Indian foreign policy.

In the meantime, neither India nor China regards the unresolved border dispute as a hindrance to normal relations. There has been no serious clash along their common 2,100-mile boundary in 15 years, although the line of control that resulted from the war is more favorable to China than to India.

Ironically, some of those high in the new Indian Government have been known for their view that there could be no friendship with China until "every inch" of Indian territory under Chinese occupation was recovered. The present Foreign Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, belonged to the Hindu nationalist Jan Sangh Party, which was perhaps best known of those following this line of thinking. Prime Minister Dasai himself was known for his strident anti-China statements in the past.

Analysts here also think the likely improvement in India's relations with the United States will help make for better Indian-Chinese ties.

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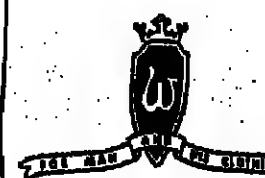
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# Asia

## New Mao volume sure to be a best seller in Peking

By Frederic A. Moritz  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong  
In Peking and other cities, including Hong Kong, long lines of people are waiting to buy the 500-page, 325,000-word Volume 5 of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung."

What prompts such interest in a collection of 70 articles written between 1949 and 1957? Partly it is respect for the late Chinese leader.

But analysts say a major reason for the interest is the clues this volume, edited under the leadership of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, is sure to provide on China's future.

On April 7 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided to launch a mass movement to study Volume 5. This collection, including 40 previously unpublished articles, is being used to justify the more "pragmatic" policy of economic development outlined in the last six months by China's new leaders.

Volume 5 deals with the thinking of Mr. Mao during a relatively "moderate" period of his life before he embarked on two massive revolutionary efforts to transform Chinese society — the great leap forward of 1957 to 1960 and the cultural revolution of 1966 to 1969.

It reveals a leader who sounded far more like the popular "moderate" late Premier Chou En-lai — than like the advocate of revolutionary upheaval that the increasingly remote Chairman Mao appeared to become in his later years.

The new volume thus provides a selection of Chairman Mao's works that can be used to justify Chairman Hua's present course.

Among the themes the new selection expresses are:

- Military vigilance. "Peoples armed forces, including a powerful air force and a powerful navy, must be developed with the army as the foundation," Chairman Mao emphasized in his 1949 article "The Chinese People Have Stood Up."
- Toughness against "counter-revolutionaries."

"Those who owe blood debts or are guilty of other extremely serious crimes... must be unhesitatingly sentenced to death and executed without delay," wrote Chairman Mao during the Korean war. Many Chinese can be expected to wonder if the volume's selection of these words indicates the death penalty is being considered for Chiang Ching (Mao's widow) or other members of the "gang of four."

- Uncovering of corruption and bureaucratic abuses. Chairman Mao's writing from the early 1950s stresses the need to struggle not only against private corruption but also against the tendency of bureaucrats and party officials to act arbitrarily and to be ignorant of the people's hardships. Revival of these passages may indicate the present leadership is aware of the need to maintain popular support by exposing official abuses.

- Economic development. With a big population, vast territory, and rich resources China has an obligation to overtake the United States

economically in 50 to 60 years, Chairman Mao told a party gathering in 1956. The comment is reminiscent of the late Chou En-lai's call for China to become a modern socialist state by the turn of the century.

- Hostility to the Soviet Union. In a 1956 article Chairman Mao recalled how he had urged Chou En-lai to give the Soviets "a good dressing down" during a visit to Moscow. "These people are blinded by their gains," he recalled telling Mr. Chou, in a passage that highlights the current leadership's continuing criticism of the Soviet Union.

- At least temporary tolerance of differing viewpoints, rather than clamping down on all dissent. "It is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false..." wrote Chairman Mao in explanation of his 1958 policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Recent emphasis on this policy, which Chairman Mao later abandoned, suggests the new leadership is moving to reduce the restrictions on Chinese intellectuals.

## India's Maoist political remnant

By Mohan Ram  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi  
India's new government, pledged to ending former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's stern rule that began with the June, 1975, emergency, has freed the last of its political allies from prison.

But the month-old government has an embarrassing problem. There still are large numbers of political prisoners belonging to a fragmented, embattled Maoist movement that, since 1968, has opted out of the parliamentary system and defiantly persisted in armed revolt.

In theory, the new government is opposed to the detention of political opponents without trial. But should this cover the Maoists, who are better known as Naxalites after the peasant uprising they led in a place called Naxalbari in 1968?

While other political prisoners in India were taken during the emergency, most of the Naxalites were in prison long before that. Most of them had been arraigned on specific charges and left to linger in prison. Some have been sentenced and are serving still prison terms.

### No special category

Indian law makes no distinction between an ordinary criminal and a political prisoner, once charged. Only a small proportion of the Naxalites were held under preventive detention laws meant for political activists. So the matter is one of definition.

The government maintains there are only 845 Naxalites in prison. Naxalite organizations claim the figure is about 12,000. A few days before the March 18-20 elections by which it came to power the Janata Party said there were 15,000 Naxalite prisoners.

The government has said Naxalites charged would undergo trial and that those found guilty would serve sentences. It was

promised to speed up these trials. But many Naxalites have spent up to seven years as "under-trials." Two were hanged quietly by Mrs. Gandhi's government in late 1975. More than 100 others have been given life prison terms.

It is argued in some circles that the government maintains a double standard because while charges brought against others under the emergency have been dropped, this does not apply to the Naxalites. In one instance the new Communications Minister, George Fernandes, was the prime accused in a conspiracy case. That case was one of those dropped, but several conspiracy cases brought against Naxalites by the old government are being proceeded with.

### General ban ended

In the wake of the emergency, Mrs. Gandhi's government banned 23 paramilitary and extra-constitutional organizations, including the Naxalites. This ban was ended when the emergency was lifted, and others in the category have regained political respectability in the eyes of the government. But the Naxalites continue to be treated on a different footing.

The government of Prime Minister Morarji Desai has made abjuration of violence a precondition for the political rehabilitation of the Naxalites and has offered to hold a dialogue to draw them into the political mainstream. So far, only a small section of the movement has decided to participate in the parliamentary process. The rest are still committed to the Maoist path of people's war and agrarian reform.

But if the Naxalites gave up armed revolt they would be no different from the other two Communist parties in the Indian parliamentary system: the Communist Party of India, which has Soviet recognition, and the breakaway Communist Party of India (Marxist), which claims ideological neutrality between Moscow and Peking. The Naxalite movement began in revolt against the latter's predilection for a peaceful transition to socialism but soon fragmented.



Desai — willing to talk it over

Naxalite groups have been unable to regroup into a single organization. Even occasional Chinese guidance has not helped in achieving the task.

Although a few thousand Naxalites have been killed since 1968, the movement has not been crushed and its appeal to idealistic youths is still said to be considerable.

## It's political issues that still divide the third world

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi  
While it could agree easily on a need to restructure world economic order and denouncing racism in South Africa, the nonaligned movement is divided on political issues.

A familiar pattern of loyalty and doubts emerged in relief at the recent six-day session of the Nonaligned Coordination Bureau here in New Delhi.

The communiqué issued by the bureau April 11 noted a "grave economic crisis" facing de-

veloping countries and urged steps to prevent the failure of a projected international conference on economic cooperation. It condemned the failure of developed countries to live up to their professions of good faith on restructuring world economic order.

But on political issues, the communiqué tried to cover up differences on several issues.

For instance, it is clear that there is no accord on the meaning of Indian Ocean demilitarization. Some of the nonaligned countries want to direct their condemnation only at the United States in the matter while others insist

on joint condemnation of both superpowers.

In the end, the bureau's stand on the issue tended to imply joint condemnation because it called for closure of all foreign military bases in the region, "such as Diego Garcia," which the U.S. is in the process of developing. But observers here say this also amounted to a veiled reference to facilities used by the Soviets in Somalia.

During the discussions here, it was Bangladesh that insisted Diego Garcia should not be singled out and that the reference should be instead to bases "such as Diego Garcia." In the view of observers, this could not have pleased many supporters of the Soviets.

(On March 9 President Carter of the U.S. proposed that the ocean be demilitarized. Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny indicated two weeks later that his country was open to negotiations on the issue.)

Meanwhile, Sri Lanka, which is apprehensive about the friendship treaty between neighboring India and the Soviets, demanded that any appeal to Indian Ocean states to pull out of military pacts should cover bilateral alliances as well. But this was not incorporated in the communiqué.

The Indian-Soviet treaty is not to be scrapped by the new government here after

all, despite earlier indications that it would be. At the same time, Iraq wanted natural extensions of the Indian Ocean, such as the Persian Gulf, to be brought within the purview of the "zone of peace" proposed for the area.

There was another argument on the issue of Puerto Rico and whether the bureau should uphold its right to self-determination or further demand its independence.

Over the reservations of India and others (such as Zaire, Liberia, and Bangladesh), the bureau's political committee went ahead to add the words "and independence" after "self-determination" in the original draft prepared by the host country. Cuba, which headed the political committee, had the demand for the addition.

Although the new Indian Government has professed "genuine nonalignment," observers were puzzled by its reluctance to endorse the demand for Puerto Rican independence. Observers said the stand might indicate a new Indian eagerness for improved relations with the United States while supporting liberation struggles elsewhere.

In other business, North Korea tried unsuccessfully to secure a separate resolution on a need for early reunification of divided peninsulas.

# Asia

## Gromyko off to meet new faces in New Delhi

By Mohan Ram  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi  
The time has come for the Soviet Union to take stock of its relations with the new government of India.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko is scheduled to visit New Delhi April 25 on what is billed as a "confidence building mission" to underscore the importance his government attaches to its ties with this country. For a number of reasons, observers say those ties are in need of some close attention:

- Moscow had branded India's new rulers as "reactionaries" and "agents of imperialism" when they were leading the opposition to former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. At the same time the Soviets endorsed the harsh steps Mrs. Gandhi took under the June, 1975,

state of emergency as being necessary to beat back a threat to democracy.

- The new government, under Prime Minister Morarji Desai and the Janata Party, is pledged to a policy of "genuine nonalignment." It has said that it would not allow the vaunted 1971 Indian-Soviet friendship treaty, negotiated by Mrs. Gandhi's government, to stand in the way of improved relations with other countries, such as China and the United States.

- The substance of Indian-Soviet relations is likely to be brought into sharper focus by the new government than it was under Mrs. Gandhi.

The substance lies in the economic and commercial links between the two countries, as well as in collaboration on defense matters. And, in spite of adverse comment in India, there is an apparent realization on both sides that close cooperation in these areas is mutually beneficial.

Since the decisive defeat of Mrs. Gandhi's government in the Indian elections last month, the Soviet news media have refrained from any comment that might even remotely suggest interference in this country's domestic affairs. Rather, the commentary has emphasized the advantages of continued — if not better — "political and economic cooperation between the two great powers."

(Some observers see it as a barometer of the current state of Soviet-Indian relations that a foreign minister should have been invited to visit here rather than a higher-ranking official. According to this reasoning, it may be a matter of convenience for the new government to have Mr. Gromyko come at this time. Two months ago, when Mrs. Gandhi was still in office, Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny was scheduled to pay an official visit. But the visit was postponed when Indian President Fakhrudin Ali Ahmed passed on unexpectedly and no new date has been announced.)

In the thinking of analysts here, Mr. Gromyko probably will go to some lengths to as-

sure the Indians that there is nothing in the Soviet interpretation of the 1971 treaty that is exclusive or an impediment to better Indian relations with others.

At the same time, the Soviet official is likely to find that his hosts do not seek to strengthen their friendship with one country at the expense of another.

Still, these analysts say, a "business as usual" attitude on the part of the Soviets disguises their anxiety to maintain a vital relationship with India. They note that when the new Indian Foreign Minister, A. B. Vajpayee, extended the invitation for a Gromyko visit, the response was swift.

The Soviets seem to think that the very nature of the parliamentary process that brought the Janata Party to power here — along with a combination of domestic and external conditions — preclude a drastic shift in Indian foreign policy. So it is the Soviet interest to hold wide-ranging talks on many matters, including bilateral cooperation.

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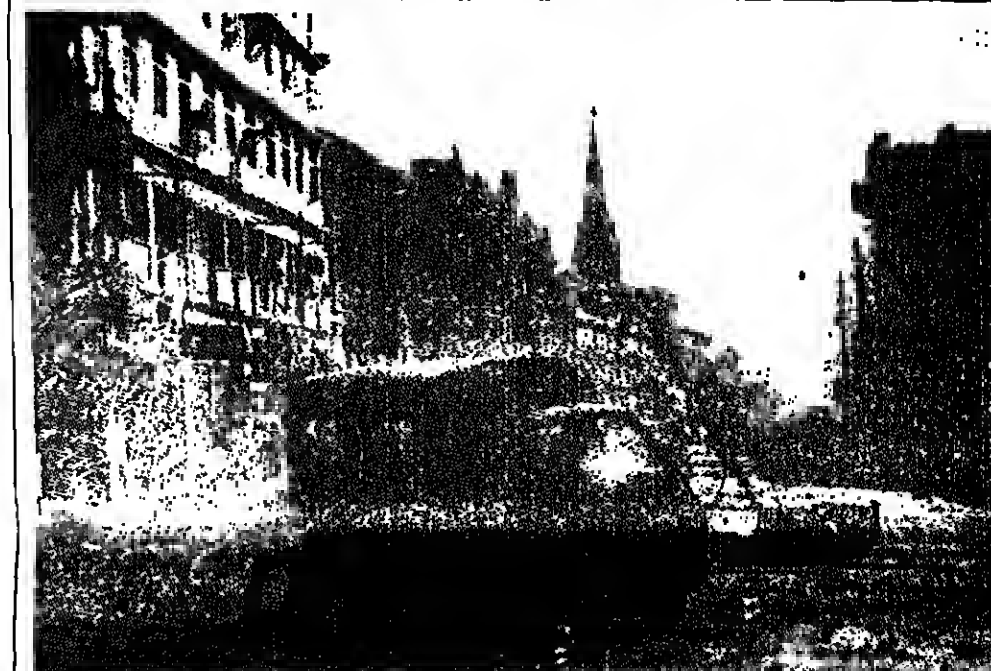
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Liquor ignites much of Pakistan's street violence

## Can a bottle ban help Bhutto stay in office?

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lahore, Pakistan  
Is Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto slowly but surely running out of room for maneuver in his bid to stay in power in Pakistan?

Observers of Pakistan affairs are asking this question after recent new developments in the continuing post-election crisis here.

The Prime Minister, along with his ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP), won an unexpectedly easy victory in the March 7 national elections. Since then, however, he has been trying to stave off attempts by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) to topple him from power and bring on new elections. The PNA charges that the PPP rigged last month's elections on a massive scale.

Mr. Bhutto held a news conference here in Lahore April 17 in which he announced a ban on liquor, gambling, and nightclubs in this heavily Muslim country for everyone but foreigners and non-Muslims. The measure was widely seen as an attempt to undercut the PNA, which had made similar promises in its election campaign.

### Liquor stores targeted

Liquor stores have been frequent targets of the street violence that continues to sweep the country.

An opposition source said of the Prime Minister's latest move: "It won't stop the movement to get rid of him. It's too little, too late." There were no other fresh initiatives, but so far the Prime Minister has offered — and the PNA has rejected — a plan to hold fresh elections for each of the four provincial assem-

blies, all of which are controlled by the PPP. If the PNA won a majority of the votes cast in the four provinces, Mr. Bhutto said, he would dissolve the federal Parliament and call a new national election.

Mr. Bhutto also has lifted a 1983 ordinance curbing the press and (under some conditions) a ban imposed last month on meetings, rallies, and processions that the opposition has been defying anyway. He also has indicated his willingness to discuss scrapping the state of emergency that has been in force here since 1971. And he offered once again to release PNA leaders and activists from jail if the opposition joined him for a dialogue.

### Violence spreading

But he appeared impatient with some reporters' questions, reacting sharply to suggestions that he might be considering resigning and that he was under pressure from the Army to resolve this crisis quickly.

In the meantime, violence continued to spread. There was fresh fighting in the Punjab Province town of Gujranwala as Bhutto opponents instituted a new antigovernment tactic: riding the trains without tickets because the fares on them go into government coffers.

At the same time, another diplomat, the third in less than a week, quit his post in protest against Mr. Bhutto. The Prime Minister expelled from the PPP a senior member of Parliament who had joined the call for new general elections, and the Pakistan Election Commission has overturned four results to date from the national poll, all of them in the PPP's favor, on grounds of "grave irregularities."



# financial

## What 'golden boys from Lebanon' are up to in Zurich

By George H. Cord  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Zurich  
Swiss customs officials at Zurich-Kloten Airport recognize them from afar by their hockey-player-type shoulders and their heavy gait.

Upon their arrival earlier, they had carried heavy suitcases. These were full of thick bundles of banknotes from countries in the Middle East, sometimes smuggled out.

Now, upon their departure, one notices their bulky clothes. Under their vests they transport gold bars, inserted into special pockets like bullets in a bandolier. This is how they do business.

The foreign currency in the suitcases is changed into Swiss francs at the big Zurich banks along Bahnhofstrasse. The francs are then used to buy gold, probably from the same banks.

Then it is the task of the "gold-laden boys from Lebanon," as they have been nicknamed, to transport the yellow metal to the Middle East for resale at a higher price. Often it is smuggled into India or Pakistan where government regulations prohibit legal gold purchases and the black market offers high prices.

The golden boys don't work on their own account. They earn a commission as employees or representatives of known Bel-

rut financial institutions which make use of several dozen such "runners" between Europe and the Middle East. Several hundred million Swiss francs are thus being exchanged for gold in this manner. It is all to the advantage of this center of international finance whose banks make substantial profits from handling the foreign-exchange dealings and by selling the gold.

The full story of the baggage-carrying traders from Lebanon only recently came to light when it was revealed that the Zurich Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal Labor Office were considering a request for a residence permit from one of the big Lebanese financiers and employer of these runners, Mahmoud Shakarchi.

A Zurich newspaper reporting the story characterized it as an attempt to move the Middle East's seat of finance from Beirut to the Limmat (the river that flows through Zurich).

What the Tagesanzeiger told its readers was undoubtedly somewhat exaggerated.

It was noted that Mr. Shakarchi, the owner of a large transfer organization for banknotes and gold, had established the firm of "Shakarchi A.G." in Glattpark near Zurich in 1974, dealing "in the trade and transit of goods of all kinds."

However, Mr. Shakarchi's residency request was supported by one of the large Swiss banks. The bank cited that the Beirut financier exports several tons of gold a month. The bank deduces therefore that a residence permit for Mr. Shakarchi is "in the economic interest of Switzerland."

To encourage the big Swiss banks in their foreign banknote trading, the Swiss National Bank has given them special permission to import larger amounts of foreign currency than the law permits.

Thus, whereas the Lebanese can legally bring money into Switzerland, other persons and groups have been forbidden to do so since April, 1974.

But where do the huge amounts of Middle Eastern currency originate? Rumors persist that it is amassed by extortionists and kidnappers who use the Lebanese couriers to launder it. None of this can be proved however.

Yet suppositions and rumors do not make it easier for Beirut's golden boys to obtain a residence permit in Zurich. For the time being the Swiss authorities have referred the matter to the Federal Office for Industry, Trade, and Business to decide whether or not Mr. Shakarchi should be granted a residence and work permit in Switzerland.

But even if the decision goes against him there still exists the possibility for the Beirut financier — and perhaps later on even for some of his friends — to establish his roots in Switzerland.

Mr. Shakarchi took the necessary precautions in having married off one of his sons to a Swiss. Under Swiss law, this allows the father to take advantage of a special regulation in order to get his residence in Switzerland. It can thus be assumed the Lebanese will fight this case to the last appeal.

## Business issues find French ready to man a barricade

By Philip Whitcomb  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris  
Anyone can propose another French Revolution about almost anything, and probably will. The last month or so has seen three such proposals. Most of these, however, after giving great pleasure to their originators and the press, fizzled out and disappeared.

The current revolt against the first Westinghouse-Framatome nuclear power center at Fessenheim on the Alsace-Rhin canal is expected to end up that way, even though 5,000 "revolutionaries" sprung into action at Strasbourg and 3,000 at Colmar.

However, a revolution of small shareholders — there are an estimated 4.5 million in France — launched in early March, seems likely to last rather longer.

But a third outburst, a revival of feminist fury over the low pay of women, rekindled by the publication of official figures for January, 1977, is certain to be smothered by the realities of today's unemployment — perhaps a million and a half men, women, and young people out of work.

### German echoes

The anti-nuclear revolution when Fessenheim-I came into operation in March was echoed by 8,000 German demonstrators because Fessenheim is on the frontier. Fessenheim-I is the first of 18 Westinghouse-licensed nuclear energy plants on which the French Government relies for about two-thirds of the electricity which nationalized Electricite de France must produce in 1985. Abandonment of the project, therefore, is practically impossible.

It was in 1969 that President de Gaulle's

dream of a nuclear power program without U.S. help using a French system and French uranium was finally abandoned. In 1974 the Westinghouse pressurized water system (PWR) was adopted, using U.S. enriched uranium. France has its own uranium, but it will be several years before the four domestic enrichment plants, system "Eurodif," are in operation at Tricastin in France.

### Shareholder protest

Today's governmental production of electricity in France, 170 trillion watt hours (TWh) per year, will almost certainly increase 85 percent by 1985. Thermic plants will then be able to produce only 15 percent of the needed 305 TWh, instead of 58 percent as at present, and water power will account for 21 percent instead of 32 percent. This will leave 64 percent to come from nuclear plants, which it will be

almost impossible for any popular revolution to prevent.

The best organized of recent French reactions is perhaps PRODAC, an association of the Betterment and Protection of Small Shareholders. In neat and forceful full-page announcements PRODAC reminds the 45,000 small shareholders of France that "in 1965, 15 years their invested savings have lost 60 percent of their purchasing power, equivalent to a total of \$34 billion."

There were flickers, but little more, of the revolution of women workers against discrimination in pay when the official figures for 1976 were published in early March.

An average of \$650 a month (after deducting social security contributions but not including family allocations or medical benefits received) was paid to 8,125,790 male workers. The 3,775,000 women averaged only \$440.

## From warehouse to office space

By Ralph Shaffer  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
Office buildings all over London are hung with vacancy signs. Local classified advertising about the same thing: There's more-than-plenty available office space almost everywhere in town.

Trouble is, like everything else in London, office rental prices have skyrocketed. Many firms have had to seek alternative space — especially smaller companies and those launching new activities.

Some businesses have moved to the suburbs. Some have converted former living spaces. Some have doubled up in shared quarters. One of the most ingenious space-and-money saving alternatives to office renting is taking place in the warehouse community.

At Chiswick, the firm of Rock, Townsend & Morton remodeled the old Boreley Mow wallpaper factory into a complex for professionals

and small firms. Since last July it has attracted a custom maker of television costumes, a secretarial agency, a group of architects, a computer sales office, two development engineers, a public relations firm, and a framing shop.

### Basic rate

Tenants pay a basic rate of \$3 per square foot with certain added charges for extras needed by workshops or studios. The complex provides switchboard, utility, cleaning, maintenance, and security services. In addition there is a small canteen, a library, and a conference room.

The success of establishing business offices in the warehouse community has prompted the dairy Mow management group to form affiliated arrangements with similarly successful ventures at Cuvett Garden, Clerkenwell, and Rotherhithe.

The Greater London Council sees this as a favorable new aspect of low-cost office tenancy as well as warehouse-area renewal.

## Furniture: Britons can make it

By Ralph Shaffer  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
Knocked-down used to be primarily the sportsman's phrase.

Now, it is also a new and growing way for Londoners to save money. In many shops and department stores selling modern furniture, price tags now show two figures: (1) the complete set-up delivered price and (2) the factory-packaged take-away price.

The difference, for example, on the same clean-line, natural-finish coffee table can be as much as \$10. And the neatly sealed take-home carton (with full assembly instructions) fits easily into a car trunk.

American old-time mail-order practices have arrived here, furniture trade buyers say, because of the "Britons' desire to embrace the 'do-it-yourself' concept."

Portland 20 percent inflation in the U.K. and the Labour government's pay-restraint policy have eroded consumer purchasing power in almost all fields. So, like Americans in the not-so-distant recession years, the British public has turned to grepping consumer savings ideas wherever these could be found. One big area of savings is that where the individual performs his own service chores.

First (after food) to feel the pinch of soaring costs has been home ownership — both the interior furnishings side and maintenance. Plumbers, carpenters, painters and others now charge up to \$12 per hour. Wages like this, coupled with the contractors' markup on applied materials has opened real sales opportunities for several chains of building supply and interior decoration shops and supermarkets.

Home Charm, one of the leading specialists in do-it-yourself products, has doubled its country-wide selling space in the past two years.

This expansion has increased sales from \$900,000 to more than \$1.7 million. Timberland with more than 90 outlets in the U.K. is reported to be equally successful with its full line of model kitchens, doors, windows, wallboard, paint, and hardware. Most displays in these new-type stores are self-service, with as needed size information available at point of sale.

Big stores also are into the act. With the advent of new retailers like Habitat from the Continent, you-do-it lines of simple, modern furniture have driven even staid, long-time London merchants into stocking knocked-down tables, chairs, shelves, cabinets, and wall pieces.

Sales of other types of home modernization products have also taken a decided new twist. Retail merchants report booming sales in curtain-drapery materials and in home sewing machines. Sales like these are to attract the trade to what used to sell well — the make-to-measure, fully installed window adornments. Most department stores have been quick to expand potential do-it-yourself department lines, those carrying wallpaper, paint, floor tiles, mirrors, power tools, and ladders.

Independent Television advertising has exploited this new trend. Current spots tell how easy, cheap, and satisfying it is to install your own kitchen cabinets with just a long-handled screwdriver.

Even grow-it-yourself food ideas are taking hold of British city dwellers. Sutton's, the well-known British gardening company, has doubled its vegetable seed sales since 1975. Prices, because of commodities' perishability and demand, have risen faster than other foods. Pot-grown tomatoes as well as mushrooms now are a home-grown reality.

Those crops, heading more growing, are being nurtured in London's urban community under the laid allotment system.

## Sobriety replaces sizzle in Cuba

By James Nelson Goodale  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

After 18 years of revolutionary struggle, the heady enthusiasm that characterized the early years of Fidel Castro's revolution is giving way to a more sober attitude.

Cuban supporters of Dr. Castro are no less committed, no less determined to make the revolution a success. But the years have taken something of a toll on their exuberance.

The revolutionary rhetoric is muted today compared with what it was a few years back, and Dr. Castro now heads an increasingly bureaucratized government — a much less spectacular role than that of waging revolt against Fulgencio Batista, the dictator he overthrew, and then consolidating his victory.

Instead of the olive drab fatigue of the revolutionary days, Dr. Castro wears Army dress uniforms with ties. Instead of being Prime Minister with chief of state responsibilities delegated to others, he now is President Castro.

He and his closest associates, including brother Raul, have shed their "Commandante" titles, a mark back to the time when they were guerrillas in the hills, and assumed the title of "General."

Behind these surface changes is a continuing economic problem that 18 years of hard struggle and billions of aid from the Soviet Union have failed to solve.

### The problem is multifold:

• Its chief ingredient is the island's continuing dependence on sugar as the basic export. Ninety percent of Cuba's foreign earnings come from this crop. In the early 1970s, sugar prices were high (up to 65 cents a pound); but they tumbled sharply in the past two years and now hover between eight and nine cents.

• Many consumer goods are in extremely short supply. Cubans talk of deciding between a pair of pants or a shirt once a year under the country's rationing program. They complain of shortages of foodstuffs even when they have the ration coupons to purchase the items. Distribution and supply "are simply not strong points of this government," a foreign diplomat said.

• In spite of large infusions of money and effort, both agriculture and industry have failed to live up to expectations due to faulty planning in some cases, inexperience and shortages in others. Plans to expand agricultural production have had to be scrapped in recent months because there was not enough money to pay for the projects.

Cuba's African ventures have proven a heavy drain on the economy — and foreign observers here are inclined to feel that the cost is higher than Dr. Castro will admit. Although the huge troop buildup in Angola was largely subsidized by the Soviet Union, there were costs that the Cubans had to pay. Dr. Castro argues that the costs are worth whatever hardship.

Foreign diplomats blame the Angola operation for many of the shortages as well.

A much-touted economic plan for the next several years has yet to be unveiled because lowered sugar earnings and the cost of the Angola venture are forcing revisions in the program.

Some observers complain of too much planning, the result of over-bureaucratization. One commented, perhaps a little cynically, that Cubans "tend to correct the deficiencies of too much planning with more planning."

The current problems with the economy are seen here as one reason that Cuba appears so interested in relations with the United States. Government technocrats suggest Cuba could



Castro at the bat: is he losing some of his swing?

UPI photo

earn \$500 million annually in sales to the U.S. of agricultural products and light manufactured items. And the U.S. would be a surer market than those available elsewhere.

Restoration of relations is some months off at best. But the two countries have begun to talk about fishing rights and maritime boundaries.

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## \*Owen's plan for Rhodesia

If the Smith administration did not accept the new constitution and the arrangements leading thereto, both the war and the sanctions would continue, "but I suspect at an increased tempo," he said.

If there were agreement, the Smith administration would resign, a caretaker government would supervise the election, "and anyone participating in the election would have to forsake violence." Sanctions also would be lifted.

Dr. Owen did not define the nature or composition of the caretaker government that would take over should the Smith administration accept the timetable he is proposing.

He also made it clear that it depended entirely on the Smith administration whether the conference would go ahead as hoped for. "Much as we all wish violence to stop," he said, "we cannot immediately expect it to stop while the wall of skepticism and disbelief, which I met all over Africa, remains about the intentions of the Smith administration."

The first reaction from the Patriotic Front led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, principal leaders of the African guerrillas fighting in Rhodesia, was to set tough conditions and especially to object to U.S. involvement in the new plan.

"The Rhodesia independence problem is not yet internationalized," the two Rhodesian nationalists said in a joint statement issued in Lusaka, Zambia. Both leaders recently have met Dr. Owen — Mr. Nkomo to London and Mr. Mugabe in Mozambique.

Mr. Smith has been given a free negotiating hand by his own party, the Rhodesian Front. The Financial Times editorialized April 20 that he could use this vote of confidence "either to press a settlement on his reluctant followers or to play for time." With Mr. Smith the lesson of the past is to suspect the latter, the editorial added.

From page 1

## \*Zaire: the rot stops

where — although some Zaire officials away in the distance capital, Kinshasa, are describing the pygmies as if fresh from the jungle, brandishing bows and arrows.

More likely they are the pygmy company of the Kamanyola Division of the Zaire Army, a division named for one of General Mobutu's victories over Simba rebels in the mid-1960s. The division had as its initial trainers North Korean instructors — a poignant reminder of the miscellany of backers that General Mobutu has had in his time. The North Koreans were in fact withdrawn before full training of the Kamanyola Division was completed.

(At the moment, China backs General Mobutu — mainly because the Soviet Union has gone into full gear against him and against the outside powers which have come to his aid. This puts the Russians on the side of the invading Katangese gendarmes, believed to have also Cuban and Angolan backing. Ironically, these same gendarmes in their initial years were on the side of the hardest anti-communist and anti-Soviet grouping in Zaire and had the support of South Africa and outside white mercenaries.)

Since the Moroccans arrived in Kinshasa, the invading gendarmes have pulled back somewhat from the point closest to the town which they had reached. (Why they did not sweep into Kinshasa before the Moroccans arrived — had that seemed possible — is not clear.) Best information is that the invaders, perhaps

2,000 strong, now are from 25 to 50 miles to the west of Kinshasa.

It remains to be seen whether the tough Moroccan spearhead will now make possible a Zaire Army offensive pushing the invaders all the way back along the Banguela Railway into Angola. (In normal times, this railway is a main outlet for Zaire copper from Kolwezi, to the Atlantic Ocean port of Benguela on the coast of Angola.) It also remains to be seen whether the repulse of the invaders will spark a countermove from their suspected patrons in Angola, which could in turn cause an even further widening of the conflict.

But even if there is not this latter complication, President Mobutu will still be left with the need to re-establish his image as effective leader, already shaken before the invasion began and then impaired further by his Army's poor response to it.

For all the present criticism of him, he more than any other man kept Zaire unified and won for it a respectable image on the world stage after the shambles which attended the country's achievement of formal independence in 1960. Today, he presides over a Zaire not only threatened by the invasion of Simba, but also faced with ever worsening economic problems. General Mobutu is criticized for arbitrariness and callousness and for the corruption at the top in Zaire. Nevertheless, with the occurring of Kolwezi, he has re-won a breathing space to try to restore his authority and prestige.

From page 1

## \*When Prince and President meet

industry, more time for a gradual change-over from a high oil-consuming economy to use of other sources of energy.

If he were thinking only of Israel, he would go for maximum oil austerity at home, even to the point of no Arab oil imports at all. But the price for that policy would include enormous economic dislocation at home. Also, it would mean an end to a friendly relationship with the conservative Arab states. All of them would

probably feel forced to turn to Moscow as the last source of help against Israel.

Has Mr. Carter found the right "mix" of measures which will balance the interests of the American economy against the desires of Israel's friends and of Arab needs?

Right now he has set as his goal a lowering at the rate of rise in American use of imported oil and more effort to develop and use alternative sources of energy.

From page 1

## \*U.S. energy

Money collected from this wellhead tax on oil and from a tax on gasoline would, according to the White House, be rebated to the American people through the income-tax system "and by direct payments to people who do not pay taxes."

Homeowners who install "approved conservation measures" — principally improved insulation — would, under the President's plan, receive a tax credit of 25 percent of the first \$800 and 15 percent of the next \$1,400.

Public utilities would be required, if consumers so desire, to install requisite insulation and other conservation measures. The cost would be financed through loans repaid through monthly utility bills.

More money would be provided to expand existing low-income winterization projects, designed to help elderly and poor Americans.

Businesses also would receive a 10 percent tax credit, in addition to the existing investment-tax credit, for improving the fuel efficiency of offices and factories.

Declaring that "the government will promote aggressively" the development of solar and other renewable energy resources, President Carter proposes major tax credits — up to \$2,000 — to homeowners who install "qualifying solar equipment." This credit — assuming Mr. Carter's proposal is accepted by Congress — would be available, though at declining levels, through Dec. 31, 1984. Business also would receive tax credits for using solar equipment.

"The federal government," says a White House statement, "will demonstrate its confidence in solar technology by underwriting a three-year solar program for federal buildings."

These are among elements in the President's overall energy plan, designed to save about 4.4 million barrels of oil daily over the amount of petroleum that in the average conservation would be required by 1985.

Mr. Carter promises the creation, through his program, of about 100,000 jobs by 1985. The nation's gross national product, or total output of goods and services, would be boosted by 0.7 percent in 1978, according to the White House.

## Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (a) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	West German Mark	French Franc	Swiss Franc	Belgian Franc	Dutch Guilder	Italian Lira	Japanese Yen
New York	100	171.92	248.1	210.7	40.32	22.75	36.36	360.3	360.3
London	58.17	100	144.1	127.3	23.57	13.19	20.48	200.48	200.48
Frankfurt	2.3635	4.0633	100	86.63	16.63	9.37	15.93	159.3	159.3
Paris	4.9378	8.5235	2.0980	100	20.48	12.73	20.48	200.48	200.48
Amsterdam	2.4879	4.2926	1.0442	89.78	16.63	9.37	15.93	159.3	159.3
Breusels	36.2450	62.3124	15.3352	7.3106	14.6855	8.1421	14.621	146.21	146.21
Zurich	2.3119	4.1365	1.0621	89.78	16.63	9.37	15.93	159.3	159.3

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: 0.02824; Australian dollar: 1.0651; Danish krone: 1.775; Italian lire: 200.48; Japanese yen: 0.003620; New Zealand dollar: 0.6890; South African rand: 1.1512.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston







# SOLAR ENERGY FOR EVERYONE

Mankind will require as much energy in the next 25 years as has been consumed in all of recorded history. As conventional fuels dwindle, solar energy presents itself as a virtually unlimited power source.

One result of President Carter's energy program is a new sense of urgency behind America's search for ways to harness the sun. This search is bound to have world-wide effects.

By David F. Salisbury

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Solar energy's star is rising in these, the twilight hours of the petroleum age.

A few years ago, the energy establishment dismissed solar devices as backyard gadgets or laboratory curiosities. Now the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) estimates that sunshine could provide 1 percent of United States energy by 1985, 7 percent by 2000, and 25 percent by 2020.

In the past, some advocates have touted solar power as an alternative to the atom. Now it is sought in its own right. "Even if nuclear power eventually becomes technically successful, economically attractive, and accepted by society... solar energy will be needed for supplying a significant fraction of the nation's total energy requirements in the future," says an ERDA-sponsored study, "Solar Energy in America's Future."

Solar power looks increasingly attractive as problems with conventional energy sources loom larger. Most estimates grant the United States about 30 more years of oil. World supplies should last slightly longer, but will be subjected to increasingly fierce competition. The estimate of George C. Szego, founder of Intertechnology Corporation, is typical — over the next 25 years, mankind will consume as much energy as it has since the dawn of recorded history.

While the United States has abundant coal resources to offset the loss of oil, they are difficult to mine and are dirty as an energy supply. The other major option, nuclear energy, is in trouble with the public. And, as the ERDA study notes, even with heavy reliance on coal and the atom, solar energy still will be needed.

Thus it is that the major question regarding sun power no longer asks "Should it be developed?" but "How fast can it be developed?"

The main problems solar engineers face are economic.

Solar energy is expensive in virtually every form in which it is likely to be used.

At the present time in many locations, the sun can heat a home at roughly 90 percent of what it costs to do the job with electricity. But solar heat costs some three times as much as oil and six times as much as gas. Solar-generated process steam, the most likely initial large-scale industrial use of solar energy, would cost about twice as much as steam raised by low-sulfur coal.

Costs of wind power, another form of solar energy, are hard to estimate now because they depend on average wind conditions at each site. In the 1980s, giant windmills set up at favorable sites may be able to produce electricity for somewhere between 2 and 6 cents a kilowatt-hour. That would be about twice today's cost of electricity at the generating plant.

Energy plantations that grow trees or other plants for fuel theoretically could produce electricity and fuel for heating at similar prices. But no one has yet established such a plantation and operated it long enough to verify this. Then there are the solar cells that turn sunshine directly into electricity. The price of that electricity, while slowly dropping, remains astronomical. Currently, it runs some ten times the cost of power from most local utilities.

## Subsidies pointed out

Many analysts think the economics of solar energy are artificially and unfairly distorted. As ERDA pointed out in a recent study of solar energy incentives: "Other energy sources have received a wide range of subsidies throughout the production and distribution systems, and the prices charged for these sources of energy are by no means laissez-faire free market prices."

This train of thought is carried further in the study "Solar Energy in America's Future," which states: "If solar is

to be competitive the federal government must move away from policies which hold down the price of existing resources."

The noncompetitive policies which this report lists include: depletion allowances for oil and coal; price ceilings on oil; price ceilings on natural gas; subsidies for nuclear power including federal insurance, low-cost uranium enrichment, and low-cost waste disposal; low-cost federal power from TVA, Bonneville, REA and the like; lax exemptions for bonds that finance public utility systems.

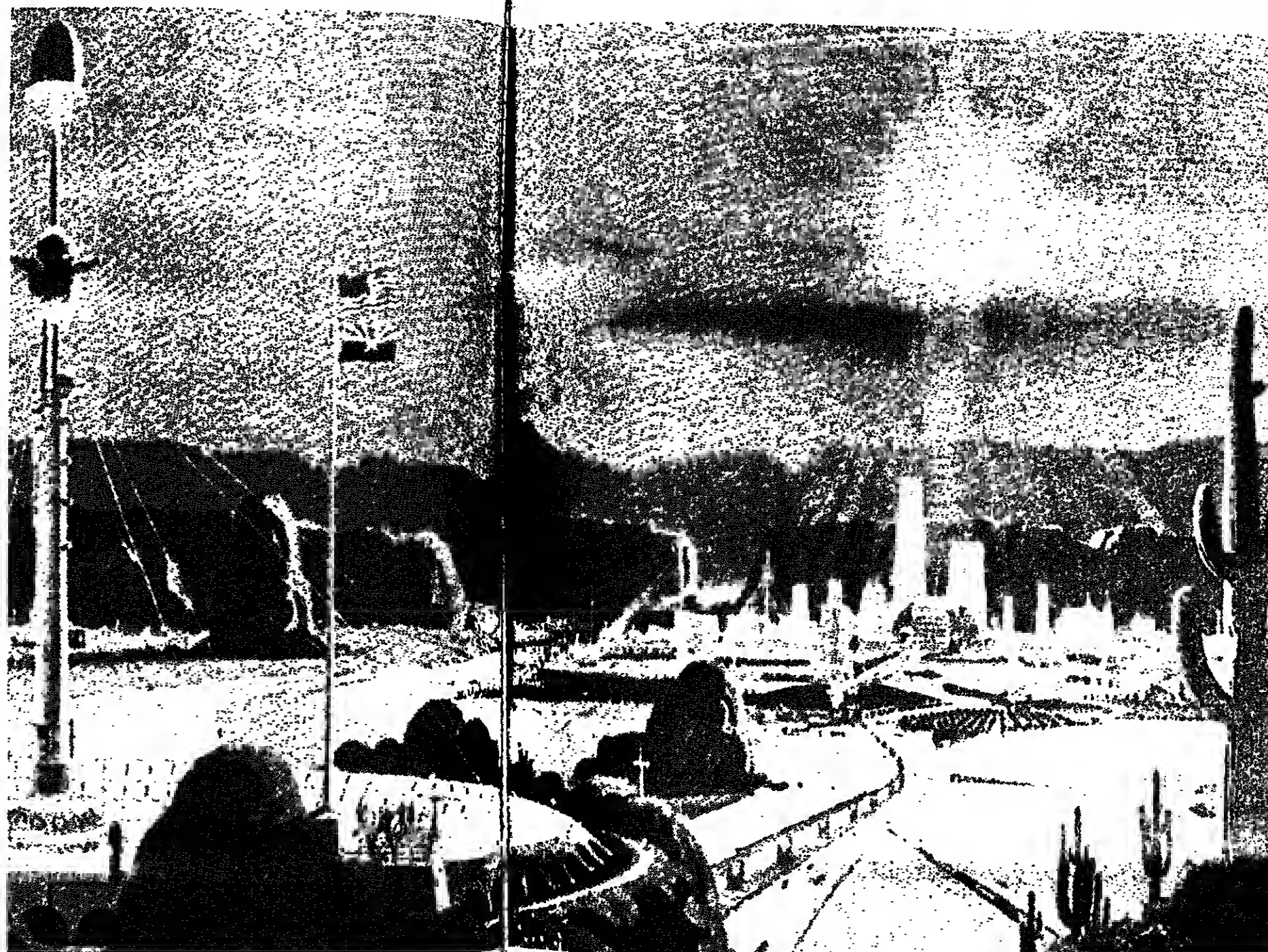
Discriminatory economic policies such as those listed above are only part of the picture. Solar energy advocates point out that the other energy alternatives also have social and environmental costs that are not fairly represented in their price.

Coal is the prime example. For every \$20 to \$30 of coal that is mined, the government pays out \$1.50 to miners' health care to be incapacitated by black lung disease. For every million tons mined in 1976 there were 20 disabling accidents. In addition, there is the degradation of air, water, and land by strip mining and pollution for which it is difficult to assign a monetary cost.

## Hard lessons learned

Finally, this winter demonstrated that more than cost is involved. The phones of solar energy manufacturers have been ringing with inquiries from the Eastern United States where energy shortages caused factory closings. "People are finally realizing that it is not just a question of cost, it is a question of supply," says Robert Mawhinney of Acorn, a company that has begun making solar collectors.

Elaborating on this theme, Martin Gleck of Arthur Little, Inc., who is heavily involved in solar energy studies, comments, "This winter came almost with God-send. It wasn't nearly the red tape that I expected," says



Artist's futuristic concept of solar-powered city somewhere in the American Southwest

Detail from "Vision of Tomorrow" by Robert McCall

steps must be taken to speed up solar energy development.

The single greatest economic stimulus for solar energy, an ERDA study concludes, would be the deregulation of the price of fossil fuels. But, it adds, such a move would have pronounced inflationary effects and hurt those in the lower income brackets the hardest.

On fossil or polluting fuels would equally encourage energy, it adds. And in this case it would be possible to use the tax revenues gained to soften the effects of price increases on those with low income.

ERDA is considering a number of other financial incentives to build up the solar energy market. These include interest-free loans, income tax credits, and direct subsidies to purchasers of solar energy equipment. According to a study, the tax credit would have the greatest effect on the administrative cost.

## Development encouraged

The government's current strategy for encouraging solar energy is embodied in the Solar Heating and Cooling Demonstration Act. By subsidizing a large number of solar incentives, the government hopes to give builders and manufacturers the information and experience they need to produce solar systems and at the same time increase awareness of the availability of solar hardware.

For 1,787 residential and 88 commercial awards have been made. Some solar energy workers criticize the program because of cases where expensive and experimental units have been installed. Others feel that the problems with demonstration units have had — leaks, poor efficiency — are not discussed frankly enough. But, by the people involved, feel the program has been

successful. "It wasn't nearly the red tape that I expected," says

Sam Primack, a Denver builder who built a \$100,000 demonstration home and, as a result, now is opening an entire subdivision of moderately-priced "Sun-saloon" homes.

"Let me put it this way," says Gordon Tully, a Massachusetts architect who was one of the first in his profession to take solar energy seriously. "As an architect, I have seen fads come and go. A year ago I wasn't sure solar energy was here to stay. Now I am."

According to Federal Energy Administration (FEA) statistics, the market for "flat-plate" solar collectors — the type that generally is used on houses — is doubling every 6 months. In 1976, more than 1.5 million square feet were sold across the nation.

Despite this furious growth, solar energy still represents only a few thousandths of a percent of the total energy consumed in the nation for residential and commercial space heating. If the burgeoning industry continues to grow at the present rate, by 1985 it could be providing 1 percent of the total space heating.

## \$10 million program

This month ERDA announced the first major solar incentive program. They are putting up \$10 million to stimulate the market for solar hot water heaters. The government will pay a part of the cost of solar water heaters for up to 10,000 households and a number of hotel and motel owners. But hot water heating represents a rather limited market.

So the FEA and a coalition of 38 congressmen are advocating solar retrofit for federal buildings. There are 400,000 such buildings. If Congress can be persuaded to fund a retrofit program, this could have a significant impact in spurring the solar heating industry. There may be enough buildings suitable for retrofit to generate a demand for some 30 billion square feet of solar collectors by 1983.

However, the debate over across-the-board financial incentives without action, may be dampening solar development. "I know of several companies that are holding back in marketing campaigns waiting for Congress to act," says Tony Adler of Solar Investor Associates in New York. Several congressional staff members have said informally that they expect some form of solar energy incentive legislation to pass this session. But they had expressed similar confidence last year only to be disappointed. "I'll believe it when I see it," quips Mr. Adler.

The continuing debate on the merits and disadvantages of solar energy touches deeper issues than economics, technology, and energy. These topics have become instruments in a struggle between different views of the future. One extreme position might best be labeled "pro-growth" while the other can be described as "post-industrial."

The basic tenet of the "pro-growth" side — which has been instrumental in forming U.S. energy policy thus far — is the assumption that policies which have worked well in the past are the best bet for the future. The basic problem is one of supply, not of demand. A technological approach is necessary to assure continued growth. The primary criterion for decision-making is economics.

## The lines are drawn

Pro-growth people tend to be skeptical of solar energy. They cannot see how it will provide the amounts of energy demanded by continued growth. And they are most interested in large-scale, centralized applications.

On the other hand, the "post-industrialists" see a major reordering of social values as being imperative. Human development rather than economic growth should be the basis of decisionmaking, they think. The social and environmental costs of continuing material and technological growth are intolerably high. And decentralization of control, technology, and population is necessary. Thus, they support small-scale solar development.

These two groups have realized that there is more at stake in the policies now being set than just energy supply. As Dr. Joel Snow of the Office of Science and Technology Policy puts it, "This is a turning point, a major event in human affairs."

Although only a few people have thought specifically about the social consequences of this historic energy transition, many have sensed the powerful symbolism of solar energy as a truly democratic resource, one that falls on everyone, rich and poor alike. A recent Gallup poll has found that 69 percent of the population feels government support for solar energy should be increased.

In fact, the current enthusiasm is so ebullient it prompts Joseph H. Zittel, vice-president for research and development at Johns-Manville, to warn that "solar energy must not be oversold to the point that we abandon development of other energy sources."

## Suggested reading

Direct Use of the Sun's Energy, by Farrington Daniels, Ballantine Books (\$1.95 softback). Overview, emphasis on global applications.

Solar Energy Utilization for Heating and Cooling, by John L. Yellot, available from National Technical Information Service (NTIS), U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, VA 22151, document number PB-245 592, \$4.00. Brief descriptions and short analyses of solar radiation, collectors, cooling by night radiation and adiabatic, solar heating and cooling systems.

Solar Heating and Cooling — Engineering, Practical Design, and Economics, by Jan F. Kreider and Frank Kreith, McGraw-Hill (\$22.50). Most widely used book dealing with advanced solar energy theory and engineering applications.

Other Homes and Garbage — Design for Self-Sufficient Living, by Jim Lackie et al., Sierra Club Books, (\$9.95). Practical introduction to energy-conserving design at home-scale. Includes wind energy, solar heating, waste-handling, water supply and aquaculture.

Solar Homes and Sun Heating, by George Daniels, Harper & Row (\$9.95). How-to-do-it book for home handyman.

Low-Cost Energy-Efficient Shelter for the Owner and Builder, by Eugene Eccell, Rodale Press (\$5.95). Emphasis on cutting the cost of energy saving. How to integrate south-wall greenhouse into home.

For the most complete mail-order listing of solar energy books, send for the "Solar Energy/Conservation" catalog of The International Compendium, 10701 Tucker Street, Beltsville Maryland 20705.



# The future of capitalism

By David R. Francis  
Business and financial editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

There are many visions for the future of capitalism. Lately a lot of them have been gloomy. Some indeed are downright apocalyptic. Certainly there is an awareness of the enormous economic difficulties facing free enterprise — the potential shortage of resources, the danger of world famine, the pressures for domestic redistribution of income, the clash between the rich industrial nations and the poor developing countries, the combination of inflation and recession, or "stagflation," and so on.

However, there are some optimistic forecasts. For instance, futurist Herman Kahn says: "Two hundred years ago, almost everywhere human beings were comparatively few, poor, and at the mercy of the forces of nature; two centuries hence, barring some combination of very bad luck and/or very bad management, they should almost everywhere be numerous, rich, and in control of the forces of nature."

Certainly some of the doomsoy for capitalism will prove to be overdone. Even Michael Harrington, chairman of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., admits that capitalism "has shown remarkable resiliency."

Indeed the large majority of Americans approve of capitalism, that economic system characterized by free markets, considerable competition, the private or corporate ownership of business, and with investment decision-making largely made by private entities outside the government. A recent survey found that 63 percent of the 2,700 Americans quizzed believe that the "free enterprise system" must be preserved. Some 71 percent even agreed that business profits are "necessary for economic growth."

Perhaps more surprising, the great bulk of West Europeans prefer the market type of economy — despite the sizable votes given Eurocommunism in Italy and France. A survey of 6,833 Belgians, British, Germans, French, Italians, and Dutch last December found 79 percent in favor of free enterprise.

Certainly many Americans, Canadians, West Europeans, and others are critical of capitalism. But generally they want reform, not revolution. That's true also of many of the Italians or French who vote for communism. They want a more egalitarian social welfare state — not the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the complete nationalization of industry.

East European style communism is discredited in most of the West as too old-fashioned and conservative. Socialism, if the word is taken to mean state ownership of the most important means of production, is considered too bureaucratic and inefficient.

Writes management guru Peter F. Drucker: "... the alternatives today are not those of the 19th century, of 'capitalism' and 'socialism' or even of 'individualism' and 'collectivism.'" Professor Drucker figures old-style socialism (or communism) disintegrated as an alternative to the "system" when the proletariat, despite the highly organized and disciplined Socialist parties in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, enthusiastically joined the "imperialist" World War I rather than make common cause with its working-class brethren across national boundaries.

Communism remains a military and subversive threat. But as an attractive ideology, its strength has been fading in Western societies.

Even democratic socialism has shown some political weakness in the last year or so. Social democratic parties in West Germany, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark have suffered at the polls. The Labour Party hangs on only by a thread to Great Britain.

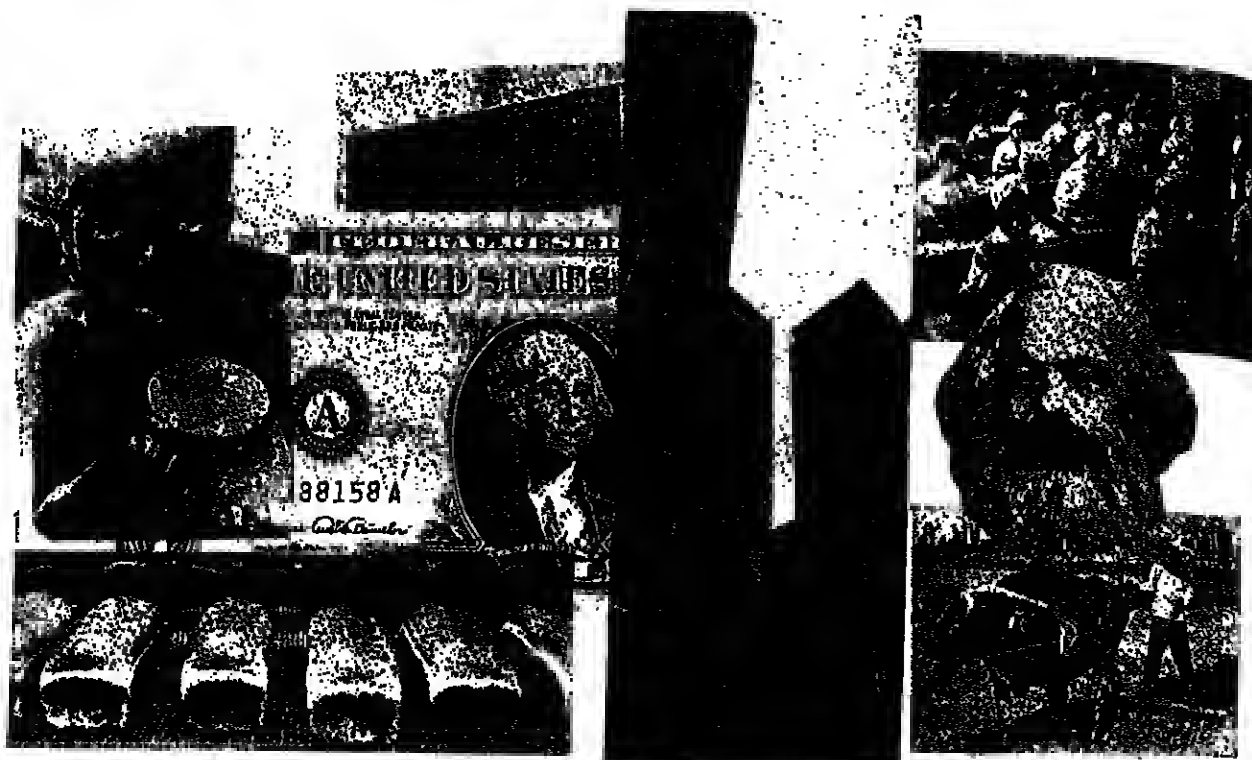
"Capitalism," writes Mr. Harrington, the United States' top socialist, "is outrageously unjust; it requires a continuing maldistribution of wealth in order to exist. But more than that, it is also self-destructive. This is why we live in the twilight of an epoch, one that has lasted more than four centuries."

Marxists, however, have long predicted the demise of capitalism. They first said the unplanned and anarchic nature of the market would lead to excessive industrial monopoly, declining profit margins, and large imbalances between production and consumption. When the New Deal and other measures remedied some of those imbalances, Marxists argued that capitalists and legislators would spend for armaments to shore up the economy, but not for social programs. Now, they maintain that capitalist government must continually expand its sector of the economy to keep the system going and that this will produce a fatal fiscal crisis.

History, though, has a way of fooling those who believe that economic trends are immutable, unchangeable. Says management consultant John Diebold: "We don't give too much explicit credence these days to theories of inevitability; even confirmed Marxists have learned that pure historical determinism is too glib an explanation [for prediction] for the vast complexity of human events."

In the West, economists, many businessmen, some government leaders, and other thinkers increasingly believe that conscious efforts must be made to reshape the free enter-

Boston



prise system. They are searching for pragmatic ways, for instance, to give employees and the community more influence in the corporation.

Already there have been some changes in the system that relatively few people are fully aware of (See the accompanying article on pension socialism). Capitalism today is not the same as it was when Adam Smith wrote "The Wealth of Nations" a little over 200 years ago, or even what it was a decade ago.

Today businessmen don't usually sound so fearful of the system as they did a year or so ago. Many are busy detaching the system more boldly. Nonetheless, if capitalism is not in a crisis, as Mr. Harrington claims, it certainly faces serious challenges. It probably has a future. But the capitalism of tomorrow will be a mutation of the version known today — dramatically different but recognizable.

## Has America become a socialist country?

Boston

The United States, writes management expert Peter F. Drucker, is the first truly socialist country.

That's because employees of American business, through their pension funds, own at least 25 percent of its equity capital, that is, the outstanding shares. This amount of equity, under regulations of the government, is normally more than enough for control. The pension funds of the self-employed, of public employees, and of school and college teachers own at least another 10 percent. So the workers of America altogether own more than one-third of the common shares of stock issued by U.S. corporations.

Within another 10 years, workers, through further accumulation of stock by their pension funds, will own at least 50 percent — if not 60 percent — of corporate equity. By the turn of the century, the figure will exceed two-thirds of equity plus perhaps 40 percent of bonds, debentures, and notes, known as debt capital.

So, says Professor Drucker, the U.S. has shifted to "pension fund socialism." It has passed through a revolution, and no one noticed.

Well, it certainly is a financial revolution. But whether it is socialism is a matter of definition. Some academics would argue that socialism necessarily means government ownership of the means of production. Mr. Drucker, who teaches at Claremont Graduate School in California, defines socialism as "ownership of the means of production by the workers." This is both the orthodox and the only rigorous definition, he writes in his recent book, entitled "The Unseen Revolution, How Pension Fund Socialism Came to America." New York, Harper & Row (\$8.95). It is also the definition used in the Soviet Union's own encyclopedia.

Since many European politicians and conservatives in this country speak of social welfare programs (without meaning further nationalization of industry) as socialist, perhaps Mr. Drucker is entitled to call America socialist. The American economy is owned today by the American worker, through his investment agent, the pension fund. Then Allende in Chile had brought under government own-

ership to make Chile a "Socialist country," then Cuba has actually nationalized, or than had been nationalized in Hungary or Poland at the height of Stalinism.

Such observations were enough to prompt a front-page review in Pravda attacking the book.

Mr. Drucker also points out that the largest employee pension funds, those of the 1,000 to 1,300 biggest companies plus the 35 industrywide funds (such as those of the college teachers and Teamsters Union) already own at least a third of the equity in nearly all of the 1,000 largest industrial corporations in America. This is technically enough to "control" these firms. So, in theory the workers already control what socialist theory calls the "command position" of the economy.

However, in neither the U.S. nor the Soviet bloc do the workers actually control industrial enterprises. In the Communist countries, power is exercised by the government, the top layer of the party, and corporate executives. In the U.S., management pulls the strings, with government regulators and trade union officials exercising considerable influence. Corporate owners — including the pension funds — generally have little say in management. Management usually is self-perpetuating, choosing its own successors, and nearly independent of owners, except in times of crisis. There are several reasons for this.

For one thing, each individual pension fund usually holds less than 5 percent of the stock of a single company. Only rarely do the funds get together to exercise their potential control. As a rule, if they vote their stock they vote with management; if they disapprove of management, they sell their stock.

Professor Drucker naturally is aware of such behavior. But in an interview, he maintained that pension fund trustees are increasingly intervening in the affairs of corporations. He held that pension fund managers had much to do with the removal of top management at Gulf Oil after it was found that they were involved in payments in South Korea and elsewhere. They also had an influence in relating management at Northrop Corporation in a similar crisis.

Moreover, in the case of small or middle-sized firms, corporate managers are often highly concerned about the impact of pension fund trustees on their companies. If the company needs to raise money by issuing new shares, the approval of the pension fund trustees could be crucial to the success of the underwriting.

Professor Drucker says many other implications for the continuing future of capitalism in the arrival of "pension fund socialism."

One is psychological. He explains: "The pension funds that there is a pension fund, and workers over 45 or 50 years of age are vitally interested in it. But so are the thousands of young people who realize that through their pension plan they actually own American business. Union leadership, particularly, knows that there is a pension plan and is much concerned with its provisions and its investment performance. Yet union leaders seem not to understand that the pension plan is actually the 'employer' of today."

Similarly, management does not realize that such a large portion of its pre-tax earnings (pension plan contributions) and after-tax profits (dividends) goes into pension funds. Mr. Drucker reckons in most companies the five percent for some 60 percent of profits.

Dr. Richard L. Leshar, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, hopes that as employees become more knowledgeable of pension fund socialism they will become more aware of economics, of the importance of profits, and of their interest in the "system."

As one analyst paraphrased Pogo: "We have met the Business, and he is us." Or, as Mr. Drucker says, "The worker and the capitalist are becoming one."

## Why water excites astronomers

By Robert C. Cowen  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Water, alcohol, formaldehyde, and other "earthly" chemicals, in interstellar space are giving astronomers a new view of the universe.

The radio signals they emit penetrate obscuring dust to show the galaxy's center. They also reveal where stars are forming inside dust clouds and where, perhaps, planets or even organic life may evolve. Indeed, the chemicals may themselves be agents that help break up the dust to start star formation.

All of this has taken astronomers by surprise.

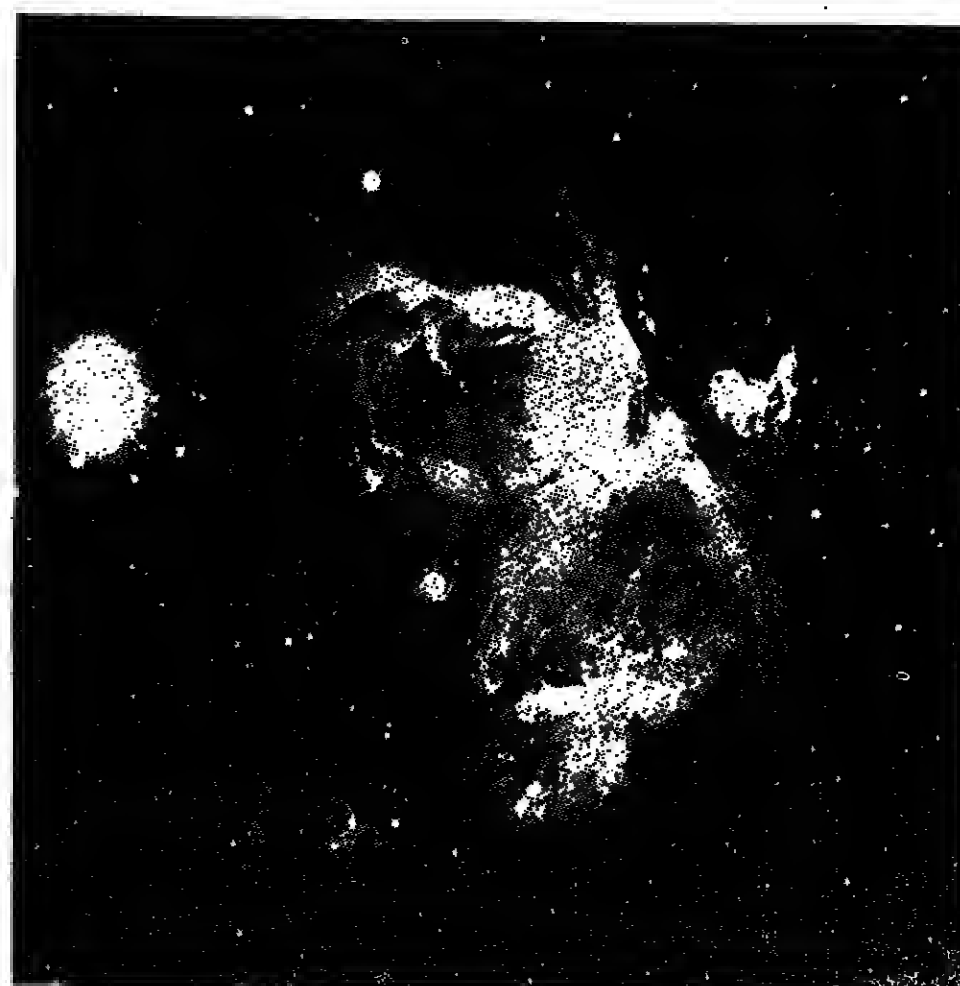
A decade ago, most of them thought the cold, emptiness, and radiation in space would be too hostile an environment for any significant amount of chemicals to form. They are now aware of some 40 interstellar chemicals, of which 80 percent were discovered in the past six years. Clouds of relatively dense dust and gas shield these molecules from radiation and encourage their formation.

The chemicals range from such simple things as carbon monoxide or water to organic substances such as alcohol or formic acid, that, on Earth, are associated with life. Their widespread occurrence in our own galaxy — many of them in the Orion nebula — and their continuing discovery in nearby galaxies suggests they exist widely in the universe.

The latest such finding was recently reported by West Germany's Max Planck Institute for Astronomy. American, French, and German astronomers have found water on the edge of a galaxy with the matter-of-fact name "IC 133" some 2.2 million light years away. This is the first water identified outside our own galaxy.

Commenting on the discovery, Otto Hachenberg, director of the Bonn Institute for Radio Astronomy, noted that the water was present in about the same abundance as our galaxy — one molecule per 10 cubic centimeters. "What is decisive is that we find the same conditions of physical matter," he told United Press International. "That means that this matter exists in the same way as here and behaves in the same way." He went on to speculate that galaxy IC 133 may well have "conditions at some place which, like on Earth, are suitable for life."

Ever since their existence became clear, as-



Orion nebula: rich in cosmic chemistry

Yerkes Observatory

tronomers have wondered what heating the space chemicals might have on organic life. Obviously, organic chemicals can no longer be considered a specialty of this planet. Also, these chemicals exist most abundantly in dense clouds of dust from which stars and their planets are thought to be created.

Some astronomers think it will be only a matter of time before they find a chemical, such as an amino acid, which is involved directly in the chemistry of life. Amino acids are building blocks of proteins. A molecule with the jaw-breaking name cyanodiacetylene renewed this anticipation when it was found in November, 1975, its discoverers — N. W. Broten, Lorne Avery, and J. M. MacLeod of the Herzberg Institute of Astrophysics in Canada — point out that this chemical has the same molecular weight as the smallest of the amino acids, glycine. This adds credibility to the thought that amino acids themselves can arise in outer space.

However, while biochemical speculations are intriguing, the real scientific payoff so far has come from the radio signals the space molecules emit. As noted earlier, they allow as-

tronomers, for the first time, to "see" through cosmic dust. Temperatures, densities, and other conditions of regions where the chemicals reside can be deduced from these radio signals.

Astronomers have long believed that dense interstellar clouds can break up into masses that collapse to the point when they ignite the nuclear fire and become stars. But, as Eric J. Chaisson of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory has pointed out, "until recently... virtually no observational evidence existed for such a scenario. Now, molecular radio astronomy is beginning to provide at least suggestive evidence that large, dense clouds are indeed collapsing to form stars."

What is more, he and other astrophysicists think that the formation of the molecules and the energy they radiate away may help bring about the break-up of a cloud into star-forming masses.

A decade ago, there was scarcely an astronomer who took the possibility of cosmic chemistry seriously. Now it's hard to find any who think they can understand the cosmos without it.

## science

### 'The rot of dishonesty'

By Robert C. Cowen

A recent issue of the journal Nature carries a sad and astounding statement. In it, a scientist publicly admits to having invented the data in eight scientific papers which he co-authored in the past few years.

This adds a new dimension to the rot of dishonesty that has crept into scientific research. Not only are worthless data in circulation, but the reputations of presumably innocent co-authors, who trusted their colleague, now are damaged.

Much of the chicanery went on at the Max Planck Institute for Biochemistry in Germany. R. J. Gullis, on a two-year post-

### Research notebook

doctoral visit, worked on biochemical experiments with several of the institute scientists which led to four co-authored papers.

After Gullis left last September, some of his former colleagues tried to reproduce his results and failed. Becoming suspicious, they asked Gullis to return and repeat his work under supervision. When he, himself, failed, the jig was up.

The upshot is a pair of letters published in the February 24 issue of Nature. In one, B. Hainprecht of the institute explained what happened and warns against questionable papers. In the other letter, Gullis gives his apology.

"The [data] curves and values published are mere figments of my imagination," he writes, "and during my short research career I published my hypotheses rather than experimentally determined results. The reason was that I was so convinced of my ideas that I simply put them down on paper; it was not because of the tremendous importance of published papers to the career of a scientist."

You could dismiss the Gullis instance as that of a compulsive charlatan untypical of the laboratory scene if it were not for a parade of fraud and dishonesty that has marched across that scene in recent years. To cite two of the cases, there was the Sloan-Kettering researcher who falsified skin-graft data and the Harvard student suspected of fabricating laboratory results. In a survey taken last year by New Scientist magazine, some 200 respondents reported 184 cases of intentionally biased research in 75 different fields. Most reports were based on first-hand knowledge of data-twisting or outright fakery.

All of this is symptomatic of a breakdown of the personal integrity that is at the heart of the scientific enterprise. You can blame "Publish-or-Perish" job pressures and the scramble for grants for some of this. But Gullis denies such motivation; and the fact remains that the individual still is responsible for his own conduct.

Gullis says he hopes others learn from his experience. One lesson is that scientists should be sure of what they sign when co-authoring papers. The larger lesson, however, lies in the true, inner Gullis has suffered. As Ernest Riepe of the University of Colorado has said, the cheater never knows "one of the joys of life: the feeling of triumph after we design a probe that pierces a secret of nature hidden from the eyes of man since the beginning of time."

## Plant now for a warmer winter in 2077

By Robert M. Press  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Columbus, Ohio

It is December in the year 2000 — the year of the giant energy "plantations."

As you step out of your car (or personalized space vehicle), walk into your home, and flip on the instant-warm heating system and the wall-sized television, some of the energy you will need to keep such luxury necessities going is growing quietly, in such places as:

- A massive tree farm in Wisconsin of more than 20,000 acres, one of some 230 around the country where intensive care produces a new crop of tall hardwoods every six years. The trees are buried to produce steam for electric power plants, refined into fuel for cars, or converted into fertilizers for farms.

- Kelp (seaweed) farms that sway with the waves four miles off the coast of California. The harvest is made into natural gas for home heating fuel, vehicles, and curing.

- Sugarcane fields of 100,000 acres each which are harvested not for sugar but to produce ethyl alcohol which will substitute for some industrial uses of oil. With the continuing rise in the price of oil since the 1970s, any substitutes are important.

But seen from 1977, such "plantations" would still provide only a fraction of the energy the nation will need in the year 2000, according to scientists studying the use of plants as energy sources.

Yet even a fraction is viewed as important in light of today's outlook for greater and greater demands on the world's supply of energy and growing concern about what happens as some of the better-known supplies begin to dwindle.

"We have to have liquid fuel from some source in the future," says Roscoe F. Ward, who coordinates the federal Energy Research

and Development Administration's (ERDA) current research into obtaining fuels from plants.

Dr. Ward estimates that by the year 2020, some 5 to 10 percent of the nation's energy could come from such sources as trees, aquatic plants, corn stalks, other plants, and animal manure.

Most of these sources would remain relatively unpopular, little used as energy sources (because using them is expensive) until the world price of oil and other more available fuels goes up considerably, the scientists say.

Dr. Seale fears that, unbeknownst to scientists, the United States may be in the midst of a "frog crisis." She cites a study done in 1971 which estimates that the U.S. frog population may have been cut by half in the last decade.

Says Dr. Seale, "We are just beginning to understand the important role these animals play in the aquatic community."

Polliwogs play a vital role in pond ecology, reports Diane B. Seale of Pennsylvania State University. She has found that these frogs-to-be eat scum formed by algae, bacteria, and pond debris at a surprising rate.

In some ponds, tadpoles keep the algae in check. Without them the algae would grow too rapidly, use up all the oxygen dissolved in the water, and so cause all the life in the pond to die.

### OUT OF THE LABORATORY

#### Polliwogs are valuable

"If you have frogs breeding in your pond, leave them alone," says Dr. Seale. "They'll eat mosquitoes and keep the nuisances algae down."

Dr. Seale fears that, unbeknownst to scientists, the United States may be in the midst of a "frog crisis." She cites a study done in 1971 which estimates that the U.S. frog population may have been cut by half in the last decade.

Says Dr. Seale, "We are just beginning to understand the important role these animals play in the aquatic community."



# children



'Flip spread himself out flat and made a dive and barrel roll down just above the cat'

## Flip the acrobat flies upon the cat

Flip Flutterby, the sparrow, had just now learned to fly. For weeks he had crouched inside his nest while other birds flew by. Now he and all his brothers could go explore the sky.

"Hay, world!" he chirped, poised on his perch. He spread his wings out wide. "Wey, wend! Hey cloud! Hey, old tree-tops, I'm off to take a ride."

And so Flip Flutterby flew high and then flew low until he spied a flock of birds all feeding down below.

Flip flew right down to join them, to share their acrobatic grain; but, oh, the way they treated him really caused him pain.

A blue jay flapped most fiercely. "Get out!" a red bird cried. An oriole turned up her beak and flipped him quite aside.

"But I'm a bird," poor Flip declared. "Why kick up such a fuss?"

"You're just a sparrow," one wren said. "You're not a fancy bird like us."

Flip flew away, his heart like lead. His wings felt heavy, too. A tear rolled down his feathered cheek. His chirp was sad and blue.

Then all of a sudden he thought:

"I was born to be a sparrow,  
"And that's what I'll always be;  
"So there's not much use in fretting.  
"I'll just make the most of me!"

Flip preened himself and dried his tears and lifted up his head. "So those birds have brighter feathers - I don't care one bit," he said.

All that day he flew about and practiced dives and swoops. He even learned a barrel roll and fancy backward loops. His brothers watched and laughed at him.

"No sparrow learns all that," they cried.

"So what?" Flip Flutterby replied. "I'll be an acrobat."

Flip worked long and Flip worked hard. He was an expert - then one day he found that flock of birds all feeding there again. He didn't go to join them, but while circling round up high, he suddenly saw a sight that almost made him cry.

A long, sleek cat with bright black eyes was crouched behind a tree. It was ready to spring out and none of the birds could see.

What should he do? What could he do?

Poor Flip was in despair. He did not have time to warn the birds from up there in the air.

All at once he knew a way. He spread himself out flat and made a dive and barrel roll down just above the cat. Flip did a loop, flew upside down, and double flapped his wings. The cat was petrified, it had never seen such crazy things.

Flip flew much faster, faster still, until he was in a spin. The cat gave out a silly howl, and tucked his long tail in. It slinked away among the trees - and so it caught no bird that day.

Poor Flip was tired, he lay down, so still and quiet he remained. But the red bird saw what happened, and was the first to come. Then every other bird flew near and each one brought a crumb. They made a feast for good old Flip, and while he ate his fill, they praised his skillful flying. And today he is flying still, and singing:

"I was born to be a sparrow,  
"And that's what I'll always be,  
"So there's not much use in fretting.  
"I'll just make the most of me!"

- Betty Kilfin

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# home

## Nine-year-old author is glad she's adopted—here's why



The Bunin family: (l to r) Nicholas, Carla and Catherine (front), Sherry and Norman (back), and Alexander

By JAL

By Jo Ann Levine  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
Two giggling, huggable little girls belong to the Bunin family. They are there because they were adopted.

But nine-year-old Catherine and wiggly seven-year-old Carla know the real reason they are there: because they are loved.

"I think loving kids is what real parents do," said Catherine when she was six. And since then she has put the rest of her thoughts about adoption, about courts and agencies and social workers, her natural mother, her two brothers, Nicholas now 13, and Alexander, 18, who are not adopted, and her younger sister, who is, into a book, "Is That Your Sister? A True Story About Adoption" (Pantheon Books, \$3.95), which she wrote with the help of her mother, Sherry Bunin.

"I know why they ask the question," she wrote, "because my sister and my mother and I don't look anything alike. We don't have the same kind of skin or face or hair. I tell the kids that my sister and I are adopted. Then they ask me, 'What's adopted?'"

Everybody in the Bunin family has developed his own "adoption speech."

"Once five kids in a row asked me, 'Is that your sister?'" said Nicholas, 13. "I had this whole lecture. And they lined up while I explained to them."

"They were fascinated," he said, tongue in cheek.

Keeping them on shelves

"What did you say?"

"I said, 'We wanted a child without having one biologically, so we went to an adoption agency and adopted one.'"

"I was four when we adopted Catherine," he continued. "I thought they kept the children on shelves. It took me a long time to figure that one out - I was nine before I realized that children were kept in foster homes, not shelves."

"Oh! I used to think they kept children in magazine racks," said Catherine, who was adopted when she was three months old.

"I'm learning something," said Mrs. Bunin, a warm, clucking kind of mother who never felt she needed either counseling or a book when she adopted Catherine or later, three-year-old Carla. It was not until after their adoptions that she became involved with the staff of the New York Council on Adoptable Children, a citizen's group that she and other adoptive parents organized to help parents adopt children more easily and to help children

find their way to a permanent home.

Catherine, who is very active in the children's theatrical group here called The Mermaid Players, has clearly enjoyed her interviews with radio, television, and newspaper people. Her book is in its second printing. She has probably become something of a celebrity at the local public school she and Carla attend. In fact, Carla reported that at school earlier in the day, someone had both exclaimed and asked her: "Hey, Catherine's mother adopted you?"

'I like, yeth'

"What do you say when people ask if you are adopted," Carla was asked.

The little girl, with the most appealing spaces where her front teeth used to be, said, softly and matter-of-factly:

"I they, 'Yeth.'"

A little later, Carla bounded out of the room. "I'll be she's going to turn a cartwheel," said Catherine with amusement. She and her mother explained that Carla was on probation for the evening because earlier she had wheeled about first into Catherine. Her punishment: no more cartwheels for the rest of the day. (Carla giggled when reminded of the restriction.)

Mrs. Bunin said that the children's grandparents were not exactly happy when they were told of the new children who were to be joining the family.

"Why?" asked a rather astonished Carla.

"They probably thought," said Mrs. Bunin, "why adopt a child when you could have one biologically?"

"But," reasoned Carla, "what about if you wanted a girl and you were afraid you were going to get a boy?"

Mrs. Bunin said something about that being a point well taken. She added that she and her husband, Norman, who is currently working on the circulation side of the Civil Liberties Review and a music magazine, talked it over only with each other until they were sure they would get a child.

"A hard-to-please child," added Catherine.

"A hard-to-please child," confirmed Mrs. Bunin. "The relatives 'came around,' but we always considered it their problem, not ours."

Mrs. Bunin does not agree with those who adopted adults who advocate the "all-consuming search" for natural parents.

"Catherine and Carla know I've been collecting as much information as I can about their natural parents. If they want to do their search at 18, they can do it."

She noted that out of the hundreds of adop-

sands of adopted people, only 2,000 to 6,000 are involved in "the search."

Mr. Bunin said that adoption is not a very prominent topic for him as it is for Mrs. Bunin, who is around it in a professional way.

The Bunins live in one of those West Side apartment houses with a lobby big enough for a coronation and a living room big enough for large groups to meet in, as they often do - groups like families who want to know about adopting children.

Mrs. Bunin writes a newsletter for the Council on Adoptable Children. She sometimes brings home photographs of children up for adoption.

"Can't we take this one?" or "Can't we take that one?" the girls ask eagerly.

"No more, no more. I'm too old," Mrs. Bunin tells them.

She points out there are 350,000 children in foster care in the United States. In New York City, on any day of the week, there are something like 30,000 children in foster care. At least 10,000 should be made available for adoption and freed by the courts, she says; only around 1,000 are actually adopted each year.

About \$200 million a year is spent on foster care in New York City. "There is no money in adoption," noted Mrs. Bunin.

Do families have to be black in order to get black children?

"It helps," she replied.

Because of criticism by black social workers, most agencies that did not want to place black children with white families anyway stopped doing it.

Recruitment criticized

"I don't think we are a 'second-best' family for our children," she said. "But I do believe some adoption agencies and child care agencies don't try to recruit black families. If they do, they turn them away when they don't look and act like middle-class whites."

Mrs. Bunin said that in the first three weeks of January the adoption council recruited 80 "good" black families through WBLS, a black radio station here. They were responding to two children: a 14-year-old boy who had been in public care since he was born, and a girl named Tanya, 10 years old.

"Both could have been adopted when they were infants," said Mrs. Bunin with exasperation.

Catherine was asked if she had thought much more about adoption. "No," she answered, "there's nothing really to think about except 'I wrote a book!'"

## Housework: a child's game

By Eloise Taylor Lee

Regretfully, I have never managed to make housekeeping appealing to either of my daughters. But let me tell you about three young mothers who have found good ways to make such work acceptable to their children.

Incidentally, the total number of girls in these three families is four; the total number of boys is four, too. Most kids - boys and girls - acquire their disposition (or lack of disposition) to work just where so much else begins: at home.

With a daytime job, a night school course twice a week, three little kids (oldest age eight), and a husband who travels

### Parent and child

a lot, Sandy is one of those 1970s superwomen who glide serenely through an action-packed existence. Clever person, Sandy: She brought home a nonelectric carpet sweeper in a big, square box,

which sat tantalizingly in their living room for two whole days before she opened it with the kids after dinner one night. As soon as they had assembled and attached its handle, they begged to try sweeping; ever since, they've vied for their nightly turn at decussing the dining room rug. All that pushing and maneuvering absorbs excess energy. Sandy has thus found a way to solve two problems simultaneously.

Another working mother, Tina, rotates the title "cook of the day" among her three kids, ages five to ten. While the "cook's" actual duties vary according to the abilities and ages of the child involved, the general clamor is for new and harder tasks, rather than against the assignment.

Even the least liked task, setting the table, gains some appeal when the list of "cook's orders" include designing paper place mats or something effective for the center of the table. (These center pieces ranged from balloons to tadpoles to a murky ecosystem.)

The "cook" sometimes has to make important menu decisions, such as which juice for breakfast, open-faced or closed sandwiches, or the choice between peas and beans as a dinner vegetable.

The most popular jobs are those necessities with great risks, like cutting anything with a sharp knife, pouring anything really hot from one container to another, or washing something extremely fragile.

As a reward for more mundane tasks, and under close supervision, these high-risk jobs appear to produce enormous personal satisfaction to the "cook."

The third mother, Joan, has two teenagers to help her around the house. I asked Joan's daughter the secrets of her mother's success in recruiting assistance from this underused source.

"Does she pay you for what you do?" I queried.

"Sometimes," the daughter admitted, "but mostly we do it for free, because she's reasonable."

"Reasonable?"

"She doesn't nag; she just says, 'Please do this sometime this morning,' or 'When will you be free to help me for an hour?'"

"You don't have to stop right in the middle of what you're doing - she lets you do it when there's nothing good on TV or after you've washed your hair."

Making work fun, showing how, explaining what needs to be done, reasonableness, appealing to a kid's own sense of fairness - these seem to be some of the techniques of parents who succeed in having their children help at home.

## Fun games with Sandy, Jack & the weather

The answer to each clue begins with the word "sand."

Jack is an agile fellow. He moves around a lot and finds himself in many different words. How many of his names do you know?

Look below at these songs and stories and see "weather" you can fit in the missing blanks with words that pertain to weather conditions.

1. an open shoe
2. used to stop flooding
3. flat circular sea urchin
4. broad silces and filling
5. folklore character who puts children to sleep
6. sedimentary rock
7. small wading bird
8. artificial golf hazard
9. unorganized city sports
10. American poet

1. Prize money
2. A large hare
3. A swimmer's dive
4. A surprising toy
5. Ha visits in winter
6. A wildflower
7. A wild dog
8. A kind of large drill
9. A handyman
10. One who tells trees

1. Keep Falling on My Head
2. White and the Seven Dwarfs
3. My Lady
4. You Are My
5. Gone With The
6. Singin' In The
7. On a Day, You Can See Forever
8. the Snowman
9. the Gang's All Here
10. April
11. A Day In London Town
12. Ovar the bow

Answers

10. Carl Sandburg
9. sandlot
8. sand trap
7. sandpiper
6. sandstone

Answers

1. Jack-in-the-box
2. Jack-in-the-pulpit
3. Jack-in-the-land
4. Jack-in-the-hole
5. Jack-in-the-egg
6. Jack-in-the-ear
7. Jack-in-the-neck
8. Jack-in-the-shoe
9. Jack-in-the-suit
10. Jack-in-the-sock

Answers

6. Rain
5. Wind
4. Sunshine
3. Rain
2. Snow
1. Clear



# people

## When Maula hits a sour note his snakes don't care

By Dan Bell  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Maula Buksh yawns. The Pakistani snake charmer cannot quite understand why people are so fascinated with his cobras. In his part of the world — the deserts and scrublands of Pakistan's Sindh province — snake charmers have always existed. Nobody gets particularly excited by them, except the tourists. Until he came to Canada last year, to perform at Montreal's exhibition, "Man and His World," Mr. Buksh had never been to any place that did not have snake charmers.

In fact, snake charmers are so common where he comes from and the competition so fierce, that to make ends meet must sell some of their deadly charges to other charmers, or to North American and European zoos.

There is nothing mystical or diabolical about snakes, Mr. Buksh insists. In fact, when it was mentioned to him — through an interpreter — that in the Western world serpents are equated with ugliness and wickedness, he seemed almost offended. It was as if he had been accused of having some dark streak to his character. A bit indignantly he explains he is a Muslim, a man of God and deeply religious, and that, while cobras are dangerous and unpredictable, he is a good person.

### A family affair

Maula Buksh brought 20 cobras with him from Mirpurkara, his village in Sindh Province. Snake charming has been in the family for generations. His great-grandfather had a way with cobras.

Maula and his older brother — who both came over to perform at "Man and His World" — have kept up the tradition, serenading the hooded snakes with a flute-like instrument known as a "been." The colorfully decorated instrument is similar to Scottish bagpipes, having the same octaves. It is used only by snake charmers.

"In the olden days, snake charming and the charming of bears and monkeys was the only form of entertainment that existed in Pakistan," Maula explains. But with the advent of television and other diversions, snakes do not have the same allure for people. "I'm not sure my sons will carry on the tradition," he says. "These days you can't tell children what to do, even there."

There is a myth that snakes move and dance to rhythm with the charmer's music but, according to zoologists, snakes are deaf. They respond to the movement of the "been" rather than to the music.

### Snake trapping

Maula Buksh trapped snakes in the craggy, dry plains of Sindh Province. Where other snakes leave a zigzag pattern behind them, the cobra's trail is as straight as an arrow.

Once a snake's hole is found, the reptile is dug out and snugged, either with prongs or, more dangerously, with bare hands.

Maula says he has been bitten only once by a venomous cobra. After being captured, they are de-fanged. But after six months the fangs containing venomous juice grow back. If one is

unfortunate enough to be bitten, an urgent call is made for a "snake doctor," a holy man who sucks the venom out of the wound and chants from the scriptures. "You must have great faith," Maula stresses.

Although the cobra is known as the king of the snakes by virtue of its beautiful skin, which it sheds once a month, and its head that fans out like a blossoming flower, it is not the deadliest of all snakes.

### Nobody's friends

"The snake," Maula Buksh says, "can never be anybody's friend, even if you rear it from the day it's born until it dies. Snakes have a phenomenal memory, and never forget you if you do them some harm. For instance, if somebody attacks or kills a cobra while the female is watching, or vice versa, the male will slither that memory away, and some day, somehow, when it has the chance, will attack you."

Why did he choose cobras, rather than other snakes? "The cobra," Maula Buksh replies, "is a royal snake according to myth and legend. It is a majestic figure, king of the reptile kingdom and it is the only snake that has a hooded head."

The hood is a kind of carapace and it spreads out — or dilates — only when the cobra senses danger. When Maula "charms" the snake by playing his been the hood always opens up because the movement of the instrument and possibly the sound waves alert the snake to nearby danger. When the cobra rises slowly and majestically from the red straw basket, it is not because it is partial to music; rather it senses danger and opens its hood ready to strike.

### 'They always miss'

A good snake charmer like Maula Buksh is always a step ahead of the poised reptile. "It takes superb timing," Mr. Attab Ahmed Khan, director of the pavilion, explains. "If you watch his act closely, you'll see that the cobras continually lunge at Maula, but they always miss because he is a step ahead of them in his thinking."

Wild cobras, Maula explains, eat frogs and mice. In captivity, though, they have to be force-fed. In Montreal, Maula was feeding the snakes raw eggs, with the shell removed. He would grasp the cobra by the neck, then spoon the egg into its gaping mouth.

After a cobra bolts down its food all it wants to do is sleep, since it takes two or three days to digest the meal.

Maula used only four of the 20 cobras he brought with him from Pakistan during each show, since the others would be asleep, digesting their food. After a meal, it takes three or four days until a cobra is ready to "perform" again.

The charmer uses four straw baskets, known as "pataria," with one snake coiled up in each. He begins his show by removing the lids and blowing into the baskets. "That wakes them up," he explains. "It tells them there is a human being there. They sense danger." Then Maula chants a hymn in Arabic, picks up his primitive been (decorated with bright, colorful glass beads and with a lucky medallion from



Maula Buksh: carrying on a family tradition

the saintly shrine of Shahbaz Kalinder in Pakistan pinned on the side) and begins playing the sonorous, flute-like music. Around his neck he wears onyx necklaces, the largest of which was handed down to him by his snake charming forefathers. He also wears a fez-like cap and the traditional dress of his home province.

The cobras slowly emerge from the basket

and sway rhythmically, their heads darting to and fro. It seems as if they are moving to the music. It is an illusion, though. They feel intimidated. Some of the crowd moves back, others, recklessly, move closer, trying to pose to their friends they are not afraid of snakes. The cobra lunges. No one is bitten, and the crowd applauds enthusiastically.

## Melvyn Bragg speaks for England

By Barbaranelly Hynes  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

With his eight novels, three plays (including "Jesus Christ, Superstar") Melvyn Bragg has proved and double proved his capacity for hard work. But that is not all. He has his own program on BBC TV called "Read All About It," dealing with paperback books, and for the last five years has been up to his ears in a book called "Speak for England."

"Speak for England" is a collection of verbatim interviews, the recorded memories of the people of Wigton, Cumbria (the town where Mr. Bragg was born). The book has just been published in New York (Knopf, \$18) and London (£5.50). "When you have the sense to look at other countries in a fuller perspective than the crude measurement by Gross National Product, you see how many layers of life there still are here and how fertile they could be."

Discussing the book's interviews, he is optimistic, but not blind. "We cannot forever talk in abstract terms about 'class' and 'system' — we must have examples to follow — and as an aim in life, the life of a nation as energetic and fertile as ours, Royal Ascot is now inadequate. Unless that is, we want to become a toy-town of the Western World, an animated museum, a pack of complacent caricatures, forever strolling in and out of our glorious past down the hill of a gutless future."

But his optimism is more pervasive than his criticism. In an interview Melvyn Bragg explained, "What is good is that more and more people are realizing that something has got to be done — that is the start of something changing. Democracy moves slowly — quick solutions are the preserve of people who trample over everyone."

"There are terrible things to be shaken off in this country. For example, there's a distaste for working in industry smooch the educated classes — myself included. "Money is becoming much more openly talked about. Everyone used to pretend it wasn't important. Now at least people are conscious of it and how it is made."

"Speak for England," the book which expresses Melvyn Bragg's own constructive conclusions about England, is not a volume full of woes. In spite of the stories of back-breaking hardships, a curious joy and sweetness comes through. These are happy, close families, ra-

gardless of circumstances. These are the people who confirm Mr. Bragg's assertion that "the feeling and certainty which comes from these interviews is . . . confident and fertile hope and possibilities . . ."

"I wanted to tell the history of this country through the lives and experiences of ordinary people instead of through battles, political events or recollections of the famous," he said. "I also wanted to demonstrate my belief that if you let anybody speak at length and listen carefully, what they say will inevitably be interesting. And I decided not to change what people say into what sociologists write — correcting the English and making sentences smooth and unambiguously approved."

Sometimes tedious, sometimes moving, "Speak for England" documents the steady progress England has made in this century. Having listened at length to every type of Englishman living in Wigton, Bragg writes that England's "safety net is sound"; the mass of people who compose this island indicate to Bragg that its foundations are "full of honor, hope, triumphs, courage, stoicism, full of life-giving qualities and life-enriching virtues . . ."



Britain's new stamp

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
A set of four silver jubilee stamps to mark Queen Elizabeth II's accession to the throne will be the highlight of the British Post Office's 1977 stamp program.

The stamps will be available at post offices throughout Britain starting May 11 to coincide with a nationwide jubilee tour by the Queen, a nationwide jubilee tour by the Queen which starts in Scotland in mid-May. The only other royal silver jubilee issue was in 1935 to celebrate 25 years of the reign of King George V.

# travel

## Chiang Mai: Thailand's 'City of Roses' and lots more

By Joan Mooney  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Chiang Mai, the beautiful city of northern Thailand, had an auspicious beginning.

When Kublai Khan drove out a Thai race from northern China, the tribes settled in the area that is now Chiang Mai. The city itself was built in 1298 by Ming Mengrai, on the spot where a pair of white deer and a white mouse with five babies — both thought to be good omens — had been seen.

Chiang Mai is called the "City of Roses" — both for its lovely flowers and because the prettiest girls in Thailand are said to come from this city.

But Chiang Mai has many tourist attractions — splendid temples, settlements of primitive hill tribes, handicraft villages. In the city itself the hill tribe villages have been reconstructed, handicrafts are made, and traditional songs and dances performed at the Old Chiang Mai Cultural Center and at Ladda Land.

Although Chiang Mai is near the Burmese border, it is easy to reach from Bangkok by Thai Airways and it is well worth a visit of several days.

There are four planes daily from Bangkok and the journey takes an hour and 40 minutes (cost about \$5 roundtrip). An overnight air-conditioned express train leaves Bangkok daily at 5 p.m. and arrives at 8:30 a.m. the next day. The cost is a little more than the air fare.

### Water Festival

For those with lots of time and a desire to see more of the countryside, a nine-hour bus links Bangkok with Chiang Mai — the ticket costs about \$15.

Chiang Mai is an attractive city. Its walls and moat date back to the 13th century. If, as I did, you visit in mid-April during Songkran, the Water Festival, you are in for a lot of fun, numerous drenchings from mischievous water throwers, and the spectacle of a fair and exotic procession.

A good way of sampling northern Thailand's traditional food is to attend a Khan Toke dinner, served on a small round table of lacquered wood or bamboo by women in national costume.

The delicious Thai food includes mushrooms, and noodle soup, curries, pieces of chicken and pork, pork crackling, a variety of sauces, and both "sticky" and "plain" rice.

Khan Toke dinners are held in the old Chiang Mai Cultural Center and followed by traditional music and dances performed in national dress, including the richly embroidered costumes and heavy silver jewelry of the Hill Tribes people. The evening concludes with a fireworks display.

There are six Hill Tribes living near Chiang Mai: the Meo, Akha, Karen, Lisu, Lahu, and Yao tribes. They originated in China, Tibet, and Burma and migrated via Tongkin and Laos to northern Thailand.



Elephant mahout outside Chiang Mai

If the rickshaws aren't running in Chiang Mai, you can always hail an elephant

Once, they raised crops of opium, but now they farm more conventional crops.

The Meo tribe are one of the most accessible, by car, or bus, and jeep for the rough tracks. There is the added bonus of a visit on the way to the "winter palace" of the Royal Family, a charming bungalow surrounded by gardens, where the Thai Royal Family spends winter holidays.

You also pass the spectacular Wat Phra Dhat Dol Sutthap pagoda, a splendid affair with an imposing entrance stairway of 300 steps bordered with undulating stone serpents. It was built

in 1383 and is a lavish mixture of gold Buddhas, ceremonial gilded umbrellas, bronze bells, and murals. The views from the courtyard are beautiful.

### 'Lacquerware village'

The Meo village, too, is very picturesque. The women wear heavily embroidered costumes with lots of silver ornaments; the children are garbed in multicolored woven costumes. The men smoke water-cooled bubble pipes and demonstrate their prowess with bow and arrow.

The handicraft villages are well worth a visit. The "lacquerware village," Ban Khoen, specializes in black and gold lacquerware including plates, vases, and even hairclips.

The "silver village" is located near the Old Chiang Mai Gate of the city. Here you can buy beautifully worked tea sets, jewelry, trays, or boxes. Or you can just watch the process of beating the metal into shape and decorating it. The village is not hard to find — you hear the rhythmic music of the hammering before you reach the area.

The weaving villages are famous for their cloth — all weaving at San Kamphaeng and cotton weaving at Pasang. You can buy beautiful material quite cheaply.

Perhaps the most colorful handicraft village is the "umbrella village," Bor Sang, with its delicately colored paper umbrellas decorated with flower designs stretched out to dry in colorful profusion along sidewalks.

One of Thailand's most ancient arts, pottery, dating back to the time of Genghis Khan, flourishes in Chiang Mai. The pretty blue and white variety is produced at the village of Lampon, and the internationally famous celadon green stoneware is made (some by hand, some by machine) in a factory on the outskirts of Chiang Mai.

Chiang Mai has a number of moderately priced, modern hotels (book ahead). There are regular bus tours, or you can explore by taxi, motor samlor (three- or four-wheel vehicle), or pedal samlor (bicycle rickshaw) — but agree on a price beforehand.

Chiang Mai, with its wealth of delightful attractions, is well worth the detour from Bangkok.

## Tourism records for Japan

By Reuter Tokyo

A record 881,000 foreigners, nearly one-third of them Americans, visited Japan last year, while 2.85 million Japanese, also an all-time high, went abroad, the Justice Ministry has reported. One of every three of the Japanese toured the United States.

Japanese tourists' second favorite destination was Taiwan, which has no diplomatic relations with Japan. South Korea and Hong Kong were the third and fourth favorites, respectively.

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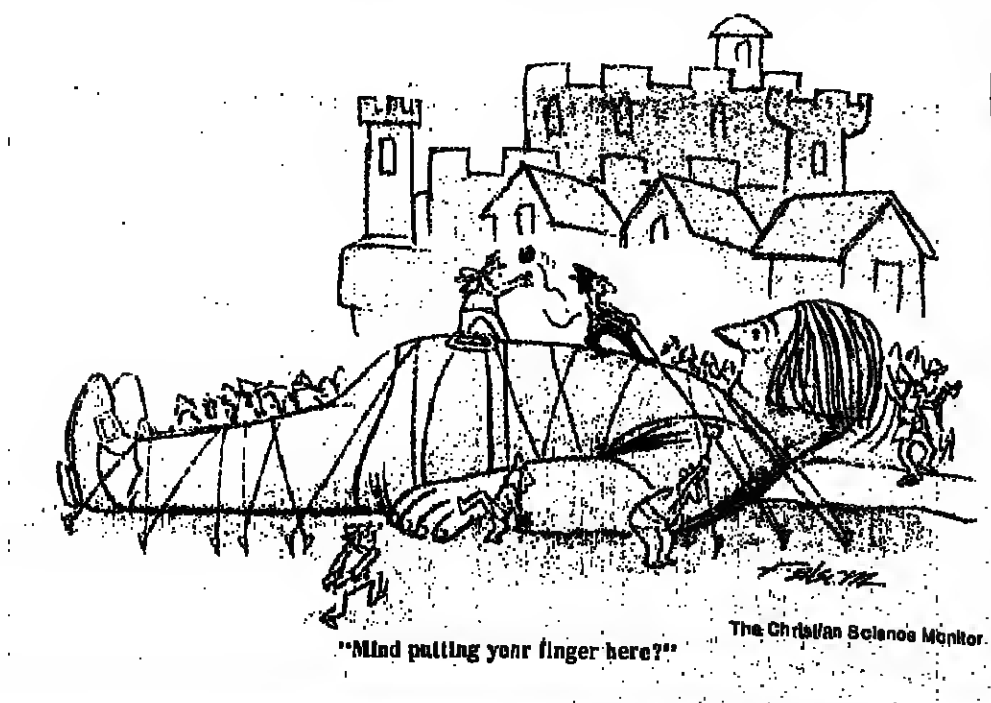
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# arts/books



Peter Finch won an Academy Award for his performance in 'Network'

## Film declares war on TV

By David Sterritt

After years of peaceful coexistence, the movies have apparently declared war on TV. "Network" — written and filmed by men who once worked for television — is one of the most forceful, outspoken, and generally cynical attacks ever launched by one medium upon another, and on the society that shapes and harbors them both.

Fortunately, the talents involved are significant — notably writer Paddy Chayefsky — so the assault is often as entertaining as it is sav-

### Film

age, as meaningful as it is deliberately offensive at times. Yet coming on the heels of "The Front," which condemned TV blacklisting during the McCarthy era while ignoring beams in the movies' own eye, it looks like a second wave in what could become — if TV retaliates — a Battle of the Media.

"Network" focuses on the mythical United Broadcasting System, which is about to go under for the third time in the sea of bad ratings. Things get worse when lame-duck anchorman Howard Beale, just sacked, announces his forthcoming suicide on the evening news. Goaded by "progressive" executives, however, CBS lets Beale return to the air again, when he recants on his suicide notice and offers instead a string of obscene outbursts.

The public is titillated, ratings zoom, and Beale becomes a ranting national hero. The forces of humanity take firmer control of CBS, programming the news like a nightmare variety show complete with fortune-telling. Outside the news department, plans proceed for a new prime-time entertainment series based on actual disastrous events, such as the recent kidnapping of an heiress by the terrorist Ecumenical Liberation Army. Meanwhile, Beale — now well on the way to insanity — con-

tinues his zany jeremiads for an audience and a network that are hungry enough to swallow anything.

Such are the central thrusts of "Network," which also sends barbs toward other targets. When Beale is finally tamed, for example, it is not by a voice of reason, but by a super-capitalist tycoon preaching a dogma of eternal moneyism.

Indeed, several of the characters are walking metaphors — the senior executive who will do anything to please the head of the conglomerate that owns him, and anything else to save his own skin; the network-news president who tries to maintain his professional integrity but nearly ruins his private life with an ill-conceived love affair; the lovely network up-and-comer whose role as person, woman, and lover are swamped by an obsession with the machinations of the tube.

Screenwriter Paddy Chayefsky has not been meditating in a vacuum, and his voice seems as socially aware as it is urgent — though his gleeful peppering of four-letter words and sometime overstatement of points may mar the meaning of his messages for those not already in sympathy with them.

Director Sidney Lumet becomes rather reckless in seeking out visual metaphors for all these matters, so "Network" sometimes seems as hysterical as its subject.

Most key scenes work to strong effect, however, and the acting is splendid throughout.

MGM claims that "television will never be the same" after "Network." Not so. But one wonders if TV will strike back with defenses and criticisms of its own.

## 'Roots' the spirit of a people

Roots: The Saga of an American Family, by Alex Haley. New York: Doubleday & Co. 587 pp. \$12.50. London: Hutchinson

By Eva Ottenberg

There have been many novels about the waves of immigration from Europe to America. But rarely does a book tell what it felt like to be stolen from Africa and sold into America. Alex Haley's "Roots" is such a book; far more honest than many history books and, as a novel, uniquely formed by oral tradition.

In "Roots" two cultures collide. Haley portrays that collision and its effects through a network of contrasts. He first depicts life in 1750 in the Moslem village of Juffure, located in Gambia, West Africa. Then through the eyes of an enslaved African, Kunta Kinte, Haley describes the American South. The last half of the book traces to the present the generations descended from Kunta Kinte.

The bulk of vivid detail in "Roots" is impressive. Beginning with Kunta's parents, who are of the Mandinka tribe, Haley describes ceremonies surrounding birth and death, children tending flocks of goats, women canoeing to their rice plots, the council of elders convening under a tree to resolve community problems.

Growing up, Kunta learns the strict Mandinka morality and participates in the rituals attending each new stage of life. Kunta decides he wants to be a traveler, to visit on foot places like Mali, Senegal and Mauritania. Instead, slave traders capture him and ship him to America.

For years Kunta speaks no English and has no idea of his location in the world. He often tries to escape his master but fails. The servility of other blacks totally mystifies him, until he realizes that this attitude is a means of survival. Kunta never abandons his values, his self-conception nor his contempt for slave owners. But slavery wears him down. When his daughter is sold away from him, Kunta finally desponds.

Haley shows again and again how slavery corroded the family unit, how difficult, often impossible, it was to keep a family together. Although cut off from his children and grandchildren, Kunta becomes a legend to them. But they are already part of a world remote from his Africa.

Two of Kunta's descendants exemplify opposed ways of surviving in slavery. Chicken George is a wild cockfighter whose flamboyance causes trouble for his family. Nonetheless, through defiance, Chicken George is the first in his family to become free. His quiet, diligent son Tom, on the other hand, acquires a skill, blacksmithing, that saves the family.

Haley shows how Tom's diligence, like Kunta's reserve, springs from self-respect.

Haley carefully delineates the discrepancies between white and black perceptions of each other. These contrasts hint at a larger one — that between white and black history. Haley shows how blacks individually dealt with that history and also how black and white history interconnect, despite contrasts, to form one entity. In so doing, Haley gives another perspective on the whole of American history; the revolutionary and civil wars, inventions like that of the telegraph, waves of European immigration had a meaning for slaves on plantations not often presented in history books.

Given obscure historical documentation, it is no surprise that Haley's research and writing required 12 years and much shuffling between archives on various continents. He has said in interviews that the major incidents in "Roots" are true, but that he had to invent the dialogues, emotions and thoughts.

Often historical novels are unstable mixtures held together by compounds of ideas or social commentary. From Tolstoy and Dickens to the present, writers have explicitly employed such sets of concepts to balance fact and fiction. Naturally, they have also tried variations on this method.

Haley is no exception, with social commentary as a background, he presents "Roots" as the product of an oral tradition. Haley's tale resembles that of the old men in West African villages — the griots who memorize the history of generations. But when, especially near the end, "Roots" becomes unadorned genealogy, Haley never gives up the social commentary so characteristic of historical novels.

Any novelist who substitutes chronology for plot gives up a lot. Nevertheless, in an age where Plot has already received so many blows from Character, you would not expect historical novelist to put Plot back in the rig. But it is not even the characters that let "Roots" together. Haley's characters are real people, so they keep passing out of the picture and the reader keeps shifting sympathies onto the next generation.

What unites "Roots" is a special notion of history, or something akin to heritage. There is a sense of African life transmitted, diluted, transformed through generations of American blacks that hold "Roots" together. Like the griots that he describes, Haley preserves more than the names and events in a family, he also passes on the spirit of a people.

Eva Ottenberg is a free-lance reviewer.

# education

## 'Teaching is not for the timid'

By Eloise T. Lee

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Rolling, Missouri

If I were choosing new teachers, I would look for boldness: education is the wrong craft for the timid. To keep a roomful of students interested for a whole year demands purposefulness, flexibility, and stamina.

Note how subtly I have tried to entice you into reading further — how carefully I have avoided the word "discipline." Why? Because I suspect you associate that word with the wall which stood between what you wanted to do and what you were permitted to do in your own youth. Or it might remind you of some penalty you paid for not conforming to the rules. Or it might call up again the discomfort you felt as a powerless student controlled by a powerful teacher through fear. No indeed, I wouldn't flaunt a word which might have such a negative meaning for you.

Fear, punishment, not the way

But can we agree that the best teachers, the best disciplinarians, reject deprivation, punishment, and fear as inappropriate means to the end of a true education for the young?

I know a teacher who quiets a noisy classroom by lowering her own voice instead of raising it; another who dares her students to dream "impossible" dreams and undertake "impossible" tasks, encouraging helping, and prodding them until they accomplish the impossible and stand a little taller in their own minds; another (a man) whose unfailing courtesy establishes an atmosphere where rude behavior never erupts.

These three successful teachers practice good discipline with humility, great expectations, courtesy.



Trotter School, Roxbury, Massachusetts

By Peter Main, staff photographer

Not deprivation, punishment, and fear, but humility, great expectations, and courtesy

A teacher who chooses to live his own life to the full always faces the nagging question, "How MORE?" Juggling the demands of total involvement with his students' progress, his family and friends, his community, and his continued personal and professional growth, he uses self-discipline to help him achieve his many goals.

The studied creation of order

Watch such an individual create order in his life by arranging his priorities, concentrating his attention on one need at a time, undertaking manageable hunks of big tasks so he won't be overwhelmed, balancing one kind of activity with another.

Since teachers teach what they are, this kind of person brings a positive sense of discipline into the classroom. He helps students establish priorities and goals which stretch them a little; he eliminates the boredom which arises from the tedious repetition and busy-work that undermine the student's performance potential; he helps students define and analyze

tasks, so they understand where they are headed and how to get there; and he enlivens the work with variety. He views himself as a "senior partner" in the learning process, rather than as an authoritarian superior.

'Discipline problems' eliminated

This kind of teacher rarely has a "discipline problem." For him, total involvement and discipline support each other mutually.

One of Webster's definitions of "discipline" is: "training or experience that corrects, guides, strengthens, and perfects the mental faculties or moral character."

Small wonder teaching is not for the timid! Think what kind of commitment a teacher makes who undertakes discipline in this large sense. His purpose embraces future, as well as present, needs of students. While encouraging him to face problems as they arise, this purpose is large enough to goad even a teacher counted successful into trying harder.

Recently I participated in a seminar on the education of the artistically gifted child. Identify him early, accommodate him with flexible scheduling, marshal your best resources in his behalf — these were some of the ideas advocated for such children.

Seeing each as 'gifted'

Dare one think of every student as "gifted"? If you truly entertained great expectations for each one, wouldn't you work energetically to give each child your very best? Wouldn't you work with him patiently to eliminate whatever behavior might impede him and to strengthen him in what he is doing right?

Children who are loved and encouraged do not exhibit disruptive behavior. A teacher who respects the individuality of every student will find ways to reach every student, no matter where he is.

During the past year I have learned quite a lot about the dedicated work of "special ed" teachers. They cannot fall back on the convenient alibi that it is the students' fault if the students don't learn. Working with handicapped children, these teachers accomplish miracles by beginning right where the students are. Their style of discipline requires patience, firmness, and love.

No shrugging of shoulders

Good teachers don't excuse bad behavior; they correct it. They don't shrug their shoulders and say, "Well, what can you expect from a child who's been deprived of proper training?" They recognize that no further delay in instituting training can be permitted.

Every discipline (that's another use of the word) is not merely an end in itself. If you are a history teacher, only a few of your students will become historians, but all of them will become adults. Likewise, only a few math students will become mathematicians. So don't let your emphasis on the subject matter blind you to your obligations to help children grow up as responsible people.

For me the goal of discipline is self-discipline, just as the goal of education is continuing education. One's attitude toward discipline is really the same as one's philosophy of education. Your relationship to your students depends on how you view them and their needs.

## Caning is still legal

By a staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

In the late 1960s, newspapers in both the United States and Britain noted what they thought was a trend to outlaw spanking of schoolchildren in the United States and caning of schoolchildren in Britain.

Yet, in 1975, the United States Supreme Court ruled that school authorities, under proper supervision, could spank pupils. And in 1976, the House of Commons refused to vote corporal punishment out of British schools.

Also, in the United States in the past three years, there has been a growing trend for school authorities to ask parents for blanket permission to use corporal punishment at the school's discretion. Parents, placing their children in such schools, sign an agreement saying they are willing for the children to be spanked or paddled under proper supervision.

## The joy of being a Christian Science nurse.

Every day brings gratitude for the certainty that God alone heals. And fresh demands for maturity, strength, and unaltered love.

Being a visiting nurse is an especially interesting challenge, in which calls come from all over a wide metropolitan area. It calls for an active, fearless, resourceful thought. Like all Christian Science nursing, it brings forth the keenest expression of spiritual sense, and offers great opportunities for spiritual growth.

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# 'Keeping Pace With God'

Geith A. Plimmer of London, England, lectures in The Mother Church

Letting your life "keep pace with God" was the theme of a lecture given by Geith A. Plimmer in Boston on Thursday evening (April 21). Using Moses as an example, Mr. Plimmer said, "The Christ will show you, as it showed Moses, how to walk step by step with divine wisdom." He went on to say, "Best of all, you will begin to experience the power of God to compel evil of every kind to pass over your life, and leave you free." Mr. Plimmer included in the talk instances of Christian Science healing from his own experience.

A member of The Christian Science Board of Lectureship, Mr. Plimmer spoke in The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts.

Mr. Plimmer was brought up and educated in Australia and New Zealand. He taught in schools in the British Commonwealth until 1934 when he began to devote his full time to the healing ministry of Christian Science. Since 1961 he has lectured all over the world on Christian Science.

"Keeping Pace With God" was the title of his lecture. He was introduced by Merleice E. Gould of Brookline, Massachusetts.

An abridged text of his lecture follows:

## Answering when called

If you suddenly saw a bush burning with a lovely flame of fire for no apparent reason, and just keep on burning brightly without ever burning anything up — would you stop and investigate? Or would you go indifferently by, as if you couldn't care less? Fortunately for humanity, under just such circumstances, Moses, the great Hebrew leader, stopped and said, "I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt." And then the Bible says significantly, "And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses" (Ex. 3:3, 4).

Just think of the privilege of being called by your own name like that by God, because you were willing to turn aside from the old, and ask a question about the new!

Noetheless, when Moses answered rather self-confidently, "Here am I," the divine voice immediately said to that human will of his, "Draw not high thine: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground" (Ex. 3:5).

Now maybe even as early as this, Moses began to see the answer to his question as to why the bush was not burnt. Obviously divine Truth was about to teach and enlighten him. So this flame of fire was a symbol of learning rather than of burning, wasn't it? — of instruction rather than destruction!

## A higher wisdom

Yes, God was virtually saying to Moses, "There's a higher wisdom here than yours. You don't set the pace for things. I, divine Truth and Love, alone do this. I AM THAT I AM." [Ex. 3:14] which presents the truth of being and the answer to every need. Now take those shoes off your feet, and stop planning your own next steps. You are on holy ground. You are in the presence of divine intelligence. Only the divine can save the human."

Humbled by this rebuke of his human will,

Moses asked falteringly, "Who am I [then], that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" (Ex. 3:11). "Who am I?" — Moses realized now his need of more instruction about his true identity and relation to God. "Certainly I will be with thee" (Ex. 3:12). God quickly promised him. As much as to say, "I AM really that I am of yours, since I am the creator of all identities. That's how my presence shall go with you, and I will give you (and your human will) permanent rest."

Quite right — Moses had been self-willed for years, but Christian Science would have you notice something rather special here about God — the flame of divine Love didn't of itself burn up that self-will of Moses.

Not as you study the divine Mind's winning education of Moses that holy day at the burning bush, you will notice Moses interjecting less and less human rationalism between himself and God. Why? Because he was consenting of his own accord to the supremacy of God's good will as the only really trustworthy will.

This wonderful healing was the result of what is known in Christian Science as the Christ. This Christ is the spirit of the one I AM, which is always at work in human consciousness preparing people to recognize divine revelation.

And all without a burn — not even heart-burn for Moses because God compensated his surrender of human will with a priceless art: the art of fitting the footsteps of his human obedience into the footprints of divine guidance, so that what was planned in heaven would really be fulfilled on earth.

## Marvelous deliverance

Now Moses' first great victory under this new wisdom was the marvelous deliverance of the Hebrews from their slavery in Egypt. No wonder it was celebrated by a feast of dedication, with one of the sweetest names in the whole vocabulary of divine redemption, the Feast of the Passover. It was given this beautiful name, because, on the night of their exodus from Egypt, the protecting power of divine Love compelled the threat of death to pass over the Israelites, so that not a single life was lost.

But I'm not telling you about Moses and the Passover tonight to involve you in his pace-keeping with God. Not at all! I'm telling you about him because, through his example, Christian Science can help you to lay aside your human will, the better to hear God calling you by name from the burning bush of divine Love inevitably in everyone's life. From there, the Christ will show you, as it showed Moses, how to walk step by step with divine wisdom. Best of all, you will begin to experience the power of God to compel evil of every kind to pass over your life, and leave you free.

To my own case, after being a devoted orthodox Christian for many years, I became a Christian Scientist entirely through this type of "Passover."

Let me explain. A friend of mine had been condemned to death by medical law. But through Christian Science she learned that disease is terminal to itself, not to man or life. So death was compelled to pass over her. The disease was gone like a dream, and the woman was free.

Thank God my inquisitiveness was stirred. And why not? Indifference to signs of God's love is a deadly sin. Like Moses, I said, "I must now turn aside from my conventional religious thinking and see this great sight, how a woman in the 20th century can be quickly healed of a fatal disease by spiritual means alone!"

This meant my studying diligently the two books whose teachings had healed this woman. Here they are, my best friends ever since: the Bible and the Christian Science textbook, "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures" by Mary Baker Eddy.

## An educational flame

I have thanked God a thousand times since, that I had the spiritual enterprise to turn aside from my conventional religious life, and read this inspired book from cover to cover.

And why not? This book is as powerless to hurt anyone's religious life as the flame of divine Love was powerless to hurt that bush. Like that educational flame, however, this book may compel changes. And who's afraid of them, when they show you that you and God are on the same side, and you therefore have dominion over all sin and sickness?

Christian Science was a fresh revelation to me, and just what my Christianity needed. I discovered that Science and Health contains the complete technology of Christ — yea, the know-how, the spiritual laws, the divine methods by which our Lord healed.

And so it was that as I studied the Bible and Science and Health together that first year, the healing power of their divine message compelled smoking and drinking, silliness and moodiness, fever and sickness to pass over and clean out of my life as ungodly, unnecessary, and unhuman. Prior to this, I hadn't the faintest idea that Passover protection is inevitable in the lives of all who learn to walk and talk with God.

Then, one precious day, some three years later, exact instruction came to me from the Christ, Truth, as to how to fit the footsteps of my human obedience, like Moses, into the footprints of divine guidance. May I share my experience with you?

At a time when there were three million unemployed in Britain I felt it would be progress for me to go there from Australia. My professor agreed to help me find employment and I had a relative there as well. So, like Moses, I felt pretty safe about my own planning of my human footsteps — but in the same week, my professor suddenly died and my relative left England.

## All human props gone

Was I now to go forward? All the human props were gone. It seemed foolish and dangerous to go ahead. Much humbled, I knew I needed guidance from God, whom Christian Science shows to be the I AM THAT I AM of everyone's life. I didn't realize it, but the Christ was making me change into Passover shoes!

In my study of Christian Science that week, I read in the Bible that Jesus told 10 lepers to show themselves to the priests as healed, when

they still had leprosy on their bodies; and he held, as they went unhealed, they were healed (Luke 17:12-14). The Christian Science text book then explained to me that health in man is a quality of God, and that faith in the two can lift disease clean away.

Suddenly, and I say it with due modesty, the voice of God in the burning bush became to me the voice of God in this illuminated Scripture. It said quite clearly: "Go to England, leave all the leprosy evidences of little money, no work, no friends, and no home there. Hang tight to My divine provision for you, and to faith and understanding, you'll be healed of your problems, like the trustful lepers." Into these invisible footprints of divine guidance, I now wonderingly fitted the footsteps of my faith.

For six weeks on board ship, I practiced our Master's wonderful prayer of faith, "Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me" (John 11:41). Yes, I thanked God generously every day that employment, home, companionship, and supply are all part of the Kingdom of heaven in man, and that no economic law can prevent people from having the benefit of them.

Conditions in England were devastatingly worse, but in spite of them, I kept in pace with God by employing every bit of His kindness, honesty, and thankfulness I could. Correspondingly, I refused persistently to get employment to self-condemnation, fear, and self-pity. Why? Because you can't keep pace with God by getting into step with human limitations at the same time.

## A provable Science

Six weeks later, with only five bank notes now left, and the situation looking more desperate than ever, the same law that lifted health off those 10 lepers suddenly compelled the threat of economic disaster to pass over and out of my life; and there appeared work for which I was fitted, wages which were able, a warm home in a bitter winter, and friends beyond number, right where some of these blessings seemed even remotely possible.

Now I'd learned there's a provable divine Science back of even the simplest Scripture. Prior to this I used to think vaguely of walking with God in the footsteps of the Master. But now I'd learned how to fit the footsteps of my thoughts into the spiritual propellants of our Lord's truth, and prove them true. This was a great advance. Here was Passover actually produced by my own obedience to God. This was like Moses' exchanging shoes in Egypt for freedom in the Promised Land.

The significant thing, of course, is that in Moses' Passover no one was even allowed to walk for his bread to leave; that momentous night of emancipation from slavery: "Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, 'I will eat [the Passover],'" declared Moses, "with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in haste" (Ex. 12:11). You can see the secret of it, can't you? — It is readiness to keep pace with God. Why? Because divine revelation is always on the move; and we must keep in pace.

Freedom from the threat of death was not merely a beginning. Many other freedoms would have to be established through further proofs of the Passover before men could be wholly free. For instance, what about sin and disease? The very limitation of the first Passover clearly indicates that divine revelation would be on the move again and people would need to move with it to benefit from new freedoms to come in later Passovers.

You notice the shoes on the feet. These weren't the "stride-shoes" of human will which Moses discarded. Oh, no — these shoes symbolized willingness to walk with God. We might say they were custom-made by the Christ. Perhaps this is why Moses could later say, according to the New English Bible, "I led you forty years in the wilderness; your clothes did not wear out . . . nor did your sandals wear out and fall off your feet" (Deut. 29:5).

## Wilderness training

In the present instance, where did the children of Israel move forward to? Another more comfortable part of Egypt? Oh, no! Into the wilderness, that's where! But why a wilderness? Because it's the best training-ground for pace-keepers with Spirit, not matter. Here, there's nothing to be looked to as saviour but God, infinite, ever-present Spirit.

Here, you cease snarling frantically for money and medicine, persons and things, and begin instead to stretch out your helpless hands to what's the best of everything from the beginning, as I learned in London — namely, God, His kingdom within, and the power of His Christ to bring His blessings into human existence.

Mary Baker Eddy, the courageous Discoverer of Christian Science, understood this only too well. It was in the wilderness that she learned that matter is nothing but an untrustworthy image of thought, and that reality is spiritual.

Mrs. Eddy defines "wilderness" as "Loneliness; doubt; darkness." It certainly seems that way at first. But be of good cheer! She then puts a period — a full stop, as the British say. Dear strugglers, you please do the same! Put a full stop to your loneliness, doubt, and darkness. You are on holier ground than you realize. Hasten to divine Love's idea of wilderness for you. And here it is: "Spontaneous thought and idea; the vestibule in which a material sense of things disappears, and spiritual sense unfolds the great facts of existence" (Science and Health, p. 597).

It's quite true — throughout their wilderness years, two great facts of existence did unfold to the Israelites: first, that God's love is universal, not partial; and second, that one day God would send His Son as Christ and Saviour to prove the universality of His love.

From the standpoint of this great new freedom, have you ever wondered why Jesus Christ, when he came as that Redeemer and Saviour, deliberately chose the anniversary of the original Passover as the occasion to take bread and cup and wine to institute a new form for it? Was the Passover idea itself developing, and Jesus keeping pace with it?

## Free to be free

Let's all see — Moses' first Passover in Egypt was special to the Hebrews only; but now here at Jerusalem, Jesus' Passover was to celebrate that all God's children are special to Him here, all are free to be free. Isn't this a sign that the Passover itself was again on the move? Weren't more limitations now being compelled to pass over and away from mankind?

It certainly looks that way! And there's another point — in the first Passover, death was merely evaded; but in the second Passover, known as Holy Communion or Holy Eucharist, death wasn't evaded at all: it was confronted, and conquered by Jesus for all men's sakes.

Then wouldn't you agree? Wasn't it right for the Passover to have a more mature outward form, to mark this marvelous second stage of its development? Of course it was. The Passover was on the move; and there was Jesus Christ, ready with staff in hand to keep pace

with it. He didn't develop it; it developed him. That bread of truth, that cup of endurance, and that wine of God-inspired love fed him for years with such developing strength that in his resurrection and ascension he finally proved death and hatred unreal and untrue for all men's sakes.

Then why did so few people leap forward in the pace-keeping spirit of the first Passover under Moses, to celebrate the far greater freedom of the second Passover instituted by the Son of God?

The explanation of the people's reluctant response in our Lord's time is full of enormous import to the 20th century, because as I hope to show you soon, the third and final development of the Passover is already upon us, and who wants the tragic indifference of the Jew to the second Passover to repeat itself in the Christian's response to the third Passover?

Yes, I regret to open your eyes to error, but this is necessary. Development has a suppositional opponent — envelopment. Here the 20th century needs to be awake and watchful. To "develop" means to "unwrap"; but "envelop" has a sly, furtive meaning — to "wrap up."

Yes, Jesus' indifferent reception shows that public teachers are often induced by fear to envelop their people in old ecclesiastical loyalties, just when divine revelation is calling them forward to new views of His protective love.

How rightly the Christian Science textbook says on its very first page, "The time for thinkers has come" (Science and Health, Prof. vi). Does that mean that the time has come for doctors and ministers, psychiatrists and sociologists, to think for you? No — it means that the time has come for each of you to think for yourselves.

## Awake to revelation

The Bible names Christ "high priest of good things to come" (Heb. 8:11), doesn't it?

Isn't it sensible to ask ourselves then, did Jesus Christ himself point to any divine development to come after him, which we should be ready with staff in hand to turn aside and see?

The answer is an enthusiastic, "Yes — many times over!" Jesus himself showed clearly that revelation would be on the move again one day, and he warned us all to be awake, even at midnight, to move forward with its coming, each with a lamp filled with oil.

I now submit that the good things of Christ which were to come have come. In accord with our Master's own prayers, all his words and works are now brought to remembrance. The gospel of Jesus has developed into the Science of the Christ. The Passover has been on the move again. And this time the wakeful watcher is a woman, Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science.

In an article entitled "Emergence into Light," she writes, "The trend of human life was too eventful to leave me undisturbed in the illusion that this so-called life could be a real and abiding rest." She later adds, "Thus it was when the moment arrived of the heart's bridal to more spiritual existence. When the door opened, I was waiting and watching; and, lo, the bridegroom came! The character of the Christ was illuminated by the midnight torches of Spirit. My heart knew its Redeemer." Mrs. Eddy concludes, "I had touched the hem of Christian Science" ("Retrospection and Inspiration," p. 23).

You can imagine her wonder, can't you, when she discovered that Jesus himself had already provided for the third form of the Passover to celebrate the marvelous discovery she had made of the divine Science by which his resurrection and ascension were achieved.

And so the original feast of the Passover now emerges through its second form, the Holy Communion, into its third and latest form, the morning meal.

John relates the story of this wonderful meal in his Gospel.

Peter and six other disciples had gone fishing, but they had caught nothing all night. Jesus said unto them, "Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find" (John 21:6).

And they did find! There was a tremendous intake! Meanwhile, the risen Jesus had prepared for them the simple meal that stood for so much more than any breakfast ever had before.

Of the disciples' experience that morning Mrs. Eddy writes, "Discerning Christ, Truth, anew on the shore of time, they were enabled to rise somewhat from mortal consciousness, or the burial of mind in matter, into newness of life as Spirit." She continues, "This spiritual meeting with our Lord in the dawn of a new light is the morning meal which Christian Scientists commemorate. They bow before Christ, Truth, to receive more of his reappearing and silently to commune with the divine Principle, Love" (Science and Health, p. 36).

## Sharing the resurrection

There isn't any question: Christ Jesus always meant us all to keep pace with his resurrection and share his resurrection benefits.

"Come and dine," he said (John 21:12). "Come and dine," he's still saying. "Dine on the universal freedoms of my resurrection glory."

This let me now illustrate to you in practical terms.

Some years ago, I was helping a man through prayer in Christian Science. He was having a fearful struggle, which, I'm ashamed to say, finally reduced me to a similar struggle. It looked as if we were both involved in a sad Last Supper!

Suddenly, I woke up. "Why, you're treating this man to get through a painful experience of crucifixion," I said to myself, "when Christ is already risen for all humanity's sake! Now get your practice of religion up to date," I said to myself. "You must bring out in this man's experience the glory of the resurrection. Stop treating him as a sheep come to the slaughter, and feed him instead as one of Christ's sheep, at the morning meal of man's proved dominion over mortality."

This so changed my thought, that I said aloud to the evil: "Now, you devil, this fellow may look to you like a mortal, but in the reality of his being he's an idea of God, spiritual and immortal. In his resurrection, Jesus Christ proved all your physical theories null and void. So you just get off this man's back now, and stop using his body to advertise your obsolete lies of pain and torment."

You can see what happened, can't you? My prayer moved instantly from Eucharist to morning meal; that is, from sorrow to joy, from cross to crown, from suffering to health. Here I came in pace with the full appearing of the Holy Ghost, and fitted my mental footsteps into the footprints of our Master's immortality! So I recognized man as ascendant, man in divine Science, man as perfect as his Father, totally unsubject to sin, disease, or death. The truth broke the error, and set the sufferer free.

But our Master also said at the morning meal, "Feed my lambs" (John 21:15). Few people think of teenagers these days as Christ's lambs, but it's just what they are in Truth.

## Acceptance of healing

A few years ago a young Christian Scientist was sick right up to death. The Christian Science practitioner discerned that this young lady had been living as if she were a private development, assisted by an attachable God.

Christian Science showed her that this was a mistaken view — that she was herself spiritual, a divine development, that she was God's idea — that divine Mind was unwrapping His own life and strength and plans through her; that God had chosen her, and not she chosen God; and that spiritually they were as one as vine and branch.

The young lady quickly felt the divine Love underlying this oneness with God; she was ready for the change. She had the Passover staff in hand and shoes on her feet; and so she gradually accepted the ideas flowing from God as from Mind to idea, vine to branch, without break or division in between.

Christian Science wouldn't allow this precious lamb to be sacrificed on the altar of physiology.

When the practitioner first saw this teenager, it seemed quite unthinkable that she would ever do gymnastics again; but in a few weeks' time that is precisely what she was doing. She was healed physically, because she had been fed as one of Christ's lambs at the morning meal. Surely you will all agree with me that the ever-widening view of God's protection, celebrated by the three successive forms of the Passover, is a most wonderful sign of God's unfolding love for mankind. This evolving love represents steady progress for mankind from moral freedom through spiritual freedom, right up to scientific freedom for everyone.

Certainly the most mature form of that love today is probably the enjoyment of the Science of the Christ at the morning meal of the resurrection.

And so I would say this to my fellow Christians of all denominations, and Moses' followers who are still celebrating the first Passover. You and I didn't make a mistake in accepting the one God of Moses as the basis of our faith.

But you can see what happened during the evolution of the wider protection under the second Passover. When the Messiah came, public teachers forced envelopment and restriction on the people when they should have encouraged development. All but a few lost pace with God through this sad resistance.

Then in the following centuries, some churchmen became afraid for the survival of infant Christianity, guardian of the second Passover. So they wrapped codes and creeds round it, much as an anxious gardener might put sticky paper round a bud, to protect it. But now that precious bud on the stem of Jesse has gradually opened, because of the sunburst of divine Love thrown on it by Mary Baker Eddy's discovery of the Science of Christ.

Today, many find the old creeds losing their credibility and authority in human experience. Some are foolishly turning from the great I AM to humanism and astrology, to orientalisms and occultism.

## Direct line with God

Christian Science pleads, "Don't do this; remain on your direct line with the one God. Far from deserting the bud on the stem of Jesse, why not keep pace with its developing blossom and inhale its healing fragrance? Why not be willing to blossom yourselves with its bloom? The provable divine Science of the one God is now revealed for all to enjoy and practice in the Christian Science textbook. Could there be a higher calling now for spiritually minded men and women than feeding Christ's lambs and sheep at the morning meal of spiritual perfection?"

So here's a new start for everyone. All who have hitherto limped behind because of pebbles in their shoes against Moses, against the Messiah, or against Mary Baker Eddy, can now stoop humbly down and take them out.

This will enable each of us to be the religionists the great I AM THAT I AM always created us to be, glorifying Him by healing the sick, cleansing lepers, casting out demons, and raising the dead.

This one thing Christian Science can guarantee: Those who keep pace with God in this way will always hear His voice, reassuring them from the burning bush, "Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you. . . . As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee." Then will follow this ringing request to all who would fit the footsteps of their understanding into the footprints of divine direction: "Only be thou alone and very courageous" (Joshua 1:4, 6, 7).

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A short article on Christian Science appears weekly on the Home Forum page. Today's article is entitled: A new look at our life.



# French/German

Charles W. Yost

## Discussion cœur à cœur sur la pauvreté

[Traduction d'un article publié à la page 34 du numéro du 18 avril]

Salzburg, Autriche

Une rencontre eut lieu au cours de ces dernières semaines dans le château de Leopoldsdorfer à Salzbourg entre un groupe remarquable de jeunes gens et de jeunes femmes d'Europe occidentale et d'Europe de l'Est — neuf Allemands de l'Ouest, un Allemand de l'Est, quatre Polonais, trois Hollandais, trois Espagnols, trois Roumains, deux Italiens, deux Autrichiens, deux Yougoslaves, deux Britanniques, deux Suisses, un Tchèque, un Danois, un Belge, un Hongrois, un Irlandais, un Maltais, plus deux Américains, un Japonais et un Ougandais.

La rencontre eut lieu au Séminaire de Salzbourg, une institution patronnée par l'Amérique et destinée précisément au but suivant : réunir les Européens dans une atmosphère dénuée de tout caractère politique ou propagandiste, le respect du point de vue des autres est tel que, si l'on n'avait pas su qu'il en était autrement, on aurait pu penser que ces jeunes gens venaient tous du même pays. On est plus confiant dans l'avenir de l'Europe en les écoutant parler pendant une semaine qu'en entendant toutes les déclarations des hommes d'état ou en lisant les comptes rendus des innombrables conférences internationales qui courent péniblement et accablent d'une souris.

Le sujet de ce séminaire particulier n'est pas européen mais, comme l'ont découvert récemment les Européens les

meux informés, tout comme leurs homologues américains, c'est néanmoins un sujet presque aussi essentiel à leur avenir que leurs rapports entre eux. Bien que lancé sous le titre rébarbatif de l'Economie politique des ressources mondiales, les participants ne se sont pas laissés gêner par leur sujet mais se sont étendus avec enthousiasme sur tout le domaine des relations Nord-Sud, le maniement de l'interdépendance, la politique, l'économie et la moralité de diverses sortes d'assistance et de commerce, l'obligation de répondre aux besoins humains fondamentaux, et la nécessité d'établir un certain plafond sur les besoins en contrôlant la croissance de la population.

Un aspect passionnant de la discussion est dans quelle mesure les jeunes de l'Ouest et de l'Est entendent ordonner que les pays développés doivent de l'assistance aux pays pauvres, bien que leurs mobiles puissent être tout à fait différents, un concept de culpabilité pour l'exploitation coloniale du passé de la part des Occidentaux et une croyance partagée par les gens de l'Est que les nations pauvres devraient avoir part aux bienfaits du socialisme.

Néanmoins, les uns comme les autres ont pris sérieusement conscience que leur idéalisme pourrait ne pas être partagé dans une large mesure par leurs propres concitoyens et que l'assistance aux pays moins développés, aussi bien celle des Etats-Unis que celle du bloc communiste, est lamentablement insuffisante. Eclairant par un exemple l'opinion interne de son pays, un Polonais raconta l'histoire d'un com-

patriote qui, lorsqu'on lui demanda quel était le nombre de personnes qui composaient sa famille, répondit : huit, ma femme, moi, deux enfants, un Vietnamiens, un Cubain, un Egyptien et un Angolais.

Cette considération domestique compliquée conduisit au moins à deux conclusions plutôt claires. La première était que l'assistance aux pays pauvres devrait probablement se concentrer non pas sur des projets industriels grandioses, mais sur la possibilité de pourvoir aux besoins humains fondamentaux, c'est-à-dire, un minimum de nourriture essentielle, des soins médicaux efficaces et bon marché, et un minimum d'instruction, savoir au moins lire et écrire. Ce genre de programme d'assistance exigeait évidemment que l'on insiste bien plus sur le développement rural décentralisé, utilisant des techniques de travail intensif relativement simples.

Il fut reconnu, toutefois, que même un programme destiné à pourvoir aux besoins humains fondamentaux rencontrerait deux obstacles majeurs. Le premier est que, si les pays donateurs s'aperçoivent que la fourniture de la nourriture pour répondre aux besoins humains fondamentaux peut stimuler la croissance de la population et qu'une mesure efficace pour contrôler cette croissance n'est appliquée, ils décideront éventuellement que leur objectif est impossible à atteindre et cesseront de faire l'effort. Ils ne seront pas désireux d'attendre les années nécessaires pour que la croissance de la population s'abaisse graduellement comme une conséquence du développement.

D'autre part, on prit aussi conscience que l'on ne pourrait pas s'attaquer aux besoins humains fondamentaux sur une large échelle dans la plupart des pays sans que se produise ce qui pourrait être considéré comme une sorte de révolution sociale. Est-ce que les élites privilégiées de ces pays toléreraient, sans parler d'effectuer, une telle révolution, ou bien rejetteraient-elles avec indignation toute assistance étrangère qui leur serait dispensée, la taxant d'intervention intolérable dans leurs affaires intérieures ?

Il fut observé qu'une autre complication majeure dans le problème de l'interdépendance globale est que, bien que l'on ne puisse probablement pas y échapper, elle peut conduire aussi bien au conflit qu'à la coopération. Il y a une interdépendance non seulement entre nations mais aussi entre questions politiques, économiques, sociales et morales. Chacune d'elles peut compliquer à exacerber les autres. L'interdépendance peut ne pas faire partie de la solution mais faire partie du problème.

Ainsi les jeunes Européens s'en allèrent après la discussion sur l'économie politique des ressources mondiales en se rendant compte calmement qu'en descendant ils avaient ouvert la boîte de Pandore et s'étaient trouvés face à face avec tous les maux du monde. Comme Pandore ils peuvent avoir été récompensés de trouver que l'espérance était restée au fond et murmurer : L'interdépendance est inévitable et vous trouverez le moyen de vivre avec elle.

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Charles W. Yost

## Eine offene Aussprache über die Armut

[Dieser Artikel erschien in englischer Sprache in der Ausgabe vom 18. April, Seite 34.]

Salzburg, Österreich  
In den vergangenen Wochen traf sich in Salzburg, im Schloß Leopoldsdorfer eine bemerkenswerte Gruppe junger Männer und Frauen aus West- und Osteuropa, neun Westdeutsche und ein Ostdeutscher, vier Polen, drei Holländer, drei Spanier, drei Rumänen, zwei Italiener, zwei Österreicher, zwei Jugoslawen, zwei Engländer, zwei Schweizer, ein Tscheche, ein Däne, ein Belgier, ein Ungar, ein Ire, ein Malteser, dazu zwei Amerikaner, ein Japaner und ein Ugander.

Die Konferenz fand im Salzburger Seminar statt, einer von Amerika finanzierten Einrichtung, die für ebendiesen Zweck bestimmt ist — nämlich Europäer in einer zwanglosen und schönen Umgebung zusammenzubringen, um über die Probleme ihres Landes und die der Welt zu sprechen. Der Erfolg ist großartig. Die kameradschaftliche Atmosphäre, die offenen, frei von Polemik oder Propaganda geführten Diskussionen, die Achtung der Meinung anderer könnten einen, wenn man es nicht anders wüßte, glauben machen, die Teilnehmer kämen alle aus demselben Land. Ihnen eine Woche lang zusammen gibt einem mehr Hoffnung für die Zukunft Europas als die Erklärungen von Staatsmännern oder die unzähligen offiziellen Konferenzen, die kreischen und eine Maus hervorbringen.

Das Thema dieses Seminars berührte keine europäische Frage, doch es ist, wie die meisten informierten Europäer und ihre amerikanischen Partner kürzlich entdeckten, beinahe ebenso wichtig für ihre Zukunft wie die Beziehungen zueinander. Wenn auch die Konferenz unter dem abschreckenden Titel „Die

politische Ökonomie der Hilfsquellen der Welt“ lief, ließen die Teilnehmer sich nicht durch das Thema zurückhalten, sondern sie gingen mit Begeisterung auf alle Aspekte ein: die Beziehungen zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden; die Auseinandersetzung mit der Frage der gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit; die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und moralischen Implikationen unterschiedlicher Programme der Auslandshilfe und des Handels; die Verpflichtung, grundsätzliche menschliche Bedürfnisse zu stillen; die Notwendigkeit, durch eine Kontrolle des Bevölkerungswachstums den Bedürfnissen eine Grenze zu setzen.

Das Interessante an der Diskussion war, wie sehr die jungen Leute sowohl aus dem Westen als auch aus dem Osten leidenschaftlich glauben, die Industrieländer sollten die Verantwortung für die armen Länder übernehmen. Die Industrieländer sollten ihre Unterstützung, obgleich ihre Motive grundverschieden sein mögen: das schlechte Gewissen darüber, das Westen wegen kolonialer Ausbeutung in der Vergangenheit und die Vorstellung, dass der arme Länder die Gewinn des Sozialismus zuteil werden sollten.

Trotz allem herrscht auf beiden Seiten die nichttrübe Erkenntnis, daß ihre eigenen Länder ihre Ideale nicht allgemein teilen mögen und daß die Unterstützung weniger entwickelter Länder seitens der Vereinigten Staaten und des kommunistischen Blocks erheblich unzureichend ist. Um die in seinem Lande unter der Bevölkerung vorherrschende Meinung zu veranschaulichen, erzählte ein Pole die Geschichte von einem Landmann, der, als er gefragt wurde, wie viele Personen

in seiner Familie seien, antwortete: „Acht — meine Frau, ich, zwei Kinder, ein Vietnameser, ein Kubaner, ein Ägypter und ein Angolaner.“

Diese schwierige innenpolitische Lage führte zu mindestens zwei ziemlich klaren Schlüssen. Erstens: Die Unterstützung armer Länder sollte sich wahrscheinlich nicht auf großartige industrielle Projekte konzentrieren, sondern auf die Behebung grundsätzlicher menschlicher Bedürfnisse, was ein Minimum an lebensnotwendiger Nahrung, wirksame und billige Gesundheitsfürsorge und ein gewisses Bildungsniveau, zumindest die Fähigkeit, zu lesen und zu schreiben, bedeuten würde. Bei einem derartigen Hilfsprogramm müßte offensichtlich viel mehr Nachdruck auf eine dezentralisierte ländliche Entwicklung gelegt werden, bei der verhältnismäßig einfache, auf körperliche Arbeit ausgerichtete Methoden angewandt werden.

Die Teilnehmer waren sich jedoch darüber klar, daß selbst ein Programm zur Abhilfe grundsätzlicher menschlicher Bedürfnisse zwei größere Hindernisse im Wege stünden. Erstens würden die Industrieländer, wenn sie merken, daß die Bereitstellung der zur Behebung der grundsätzlichen menschlichen Bedürfnisse notwendigen Mittel die Geburtenzunahme vorantreiben mag und daß keine wirksamen Maßnahmen zur Kontrolle des Wachstums ergriffen werden, allmählich zu dem Schluß kommen, daß ihr Ziel unerreichbar sei und ihre Bemühungen aufgeben. Jahre zu warten, die zur langsamen Abnahme des Bevölkerungswachstums als Folge der Entwicklung erforderlich sein würden. Andererseits waren sich die

Teilnehmer auch bewußt, daß in den meisten Ländern die grundsätzlichen menschlichen Bedürfnisse nicht in menschlichen Bedürfnissen erfolgreich angesprochen werden können — ohne eine gewisse Art sozialer Revolution herbeizuführen. Würden die Privilegierten in solchen Ländern sich eine Revolution tolerieren, geschweige denn durchführen, oder würden sie empört die Auslands-hilfe, die unter diesen Bedingungen geleistet wird, als eine untragbare Einmischung in ihre inneren Angelegenheiten zurückweisen?

Eine weitere größere Schwierigkeit bei dem Problem weltweiter gegenseitiger Abhängigkeit liegt, wie festgestellt wurde, darin, daß alle, obgleich sie wahrscheinlich unvermeidlich in einen Prozess zu Konflikten wie zur Zeit zwischen den arabischen und israelischen Ländern sind voneinander abhängig, sondern auch die politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und moralischen Fragen. Jede mag die andere erschweren und verschlimmern. Gegenseitige Abhängigkeit mag nicht Teil der Lösung, sondern des Problems sein.

Die jungen Europäer gingen also von der Diskussion über die politische Ökonomie der Hilfsquellen der Welt mit dem nüchternen Erkenntnis wieder nach Hause, daß sie die Bücher der Pandora geöffnet und sich all den Übeln der Welt gegenübergestellt hatten. Wie die Pandora haben auch sie vielleicht Trost darin gefunden, daß die Hoffnung zurückgeblieben und innerlich zuhause geblieben ist. Abhängigkeit ist unvermeidlich und ihr werden Mittel und Wege finden muß. Fertig zu werden.

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# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paru en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
[Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine]

## Nouveau regard sur notre vie

Pourquoi Christ Jésus mit-il les agissements d'un voleur en juxtaposition à ses propres œuvres en apportant à l'humanité la compréhension de l'être ? Il dit : « Le voleur ne vient que pour dérober, égarer et détruire; moi, je suis venu afin que les brebis aient la vie, et qu'elles soient dans l'abondance. »

C'est grâce à l'ensemble de ses enseignements et à l'esprit de vérité qui vivifiait ses disciples par suite de la présence de Jésus parmi eux que la réponse à notre question aurait été claire pour eux. La Science Chrétienne étudie ces enseignements en les rendant facilement compréhensibles selon la manière de parler et de penser actuelle. C'est là une chose importante. Elle va au cœur de la signification du christianisme primitif et ouvre la voie à une vie agréable.

En entendant, les paroles de Jésus étaient symboliques. Il ne parlait pas d'un vrai voleur dérobant des objets, mais plutôt d'une manière de penser et de comportement qui prive de la joie de vivre, qui nous sépare des bénédictions divines, qui tue nos espérances. Et en opposition à

cette façon de penser qui nous dépouille, il ne se posait pas personnellement comme étant la solution de nos problèmes. Il se référait à l'esprit-Christ qu'il exprimait, à cette manière de vivre qu'il enseignait et vivait avec tant de succès; c'est là, comme il l'expliquait, ce qui rend l'abondance de la vie accessible ! Comme il le dit lui-même un jour : « Les paroles que je vous dis, je ne les dis pas de moi-même; et le Père qui demeure en moi, c'est lui qui fait les œuvres. »

La sens de cette antithèse entre le voleur et l'esprit-Christ de la voie démontrée par Jésus, c'est que l'homme n'est pas un être matériel. L'homme est spirituel, fait à la ressemblance de Dieu, ce qui ne peut signifier rien d'autre que l'homme est par fait et intégral — et qu'il l'est à jamais ! Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, fait la déclaration remarquable suivante qu'un grand nombre de Scientistes Chrétiens ont prouvée bien des fois dans leur existence : « Devenez conscients du seul moment du fait que la Vie et l'Intelligence sont purement spirituelles, — qu'elles ne sont ni

dans la matière ni matérielles, — et alors le corps ne fera entendre aucune plainte. Si vous souffrez d'une croyance à la maladie, vous vous trouverez soudainement guéri. La tristesse se change en allégresse lorsque le corps est régi par la Vie, la Vérité et l'Amour spirituels. »

Le voleur symbolise tout ce qui, dans notre pensée, nous porte à croire que la matière est l'homme ou que l'homme est matière. Ce concept que l'homme est un être spirituel n'est pas une vérité dogmatique, ce n'est pas quelque chose qui ne se conçoit que par la foi. Jésus prêchait et parlait à des hommes et des femmes ordinaires lorsqu'il posa les fondements de cette idée de la véritable nature de l'homme qui libère de façon merveilleuse. Si ces gens ont pu saisir cette idée, nous aussi nous le pouvons. Et nous pouvons commencer dès aujourd'hui.

Nous pouvons commencer là même où nous sommes en ce moment en pensée, là même où la vie nous trouve. Avec sincérité et avec l'amour de la Vérité, nous pouvons abandonner l'attitude trompeuse qui prétend que l'homme n'est qu'un simple

objet de matière — ou entendement vivant dans la matière — et nous tourner vers le concept de l'homme en tant qu'image spirituelle de Dieu.

Quand nous rechercherons ce meilleur concept de l'homme et le laisserons nous dicter notre style de vie, au lieu de le considérer seulement comme un exercice cérébral, nous serons capables d'en mesurer l'efficacité. Et depuis des années, les étudiants de la Science Chrétienne ont eu la preuve que cette nouvelle manière de voir la vie apporte effectivement une abondance de bien dans l'existence, ici même et maintenant.

\* Jean 10:10; \* Jean 14:10; \* Science et Santé avec le Chef des Ecrivains, p. 14.

\* Christian Science (Aristotele "santé")  
La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, "Science et Santé avec le Chef des Ecrivains" de Mary Baker Eddy, écrite avec la collaboration de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commandant à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels  
[Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich]

## Ein neuer Ausblick auf das Leben

Warum stellte Christus Jesus das Treiben eines Diebes seinem eigenen Wirken gegenüber, nämlich der Menschheit ein Verständnis des Seins zu bringen? Er sagte: „Ein Dieb kommt nur, daß er stehle, wölfe und umbringe. Ich bin gekommen, daß sie das Leben und volle Gesundheit haben sollen.“

Die Lehren Jesu in ihrer Gesamtheit und der Geist der Wahrheit, der die Jünger durch Jesu Gegenwart stärkte, hätten ihnen die Antwort auf unsere Frage klargemacht. Die Christliche Wissenschaft\* erklärt diese Lehren auf eine Art, die sie uns in der Ausdrucks- und Denkweise der heutigen Welt leicht verständlich macht. Dies ist ein wichtiger Punkt. Die Christ-

liche Wissenschaft dringt zum Kern des ursprünglichen Christentums vor und zeigt uns, wie wir Freude am Leben finden können.

Jesu Worte waren natürlich symbolisch. Er sprach nicht von einem tatsächlichen Dieb, der von jemandem etwas stiehlt, sondern von einer Art des Denkens und Verhaltens, die uns die Freude am Leben raubt, uns von Gottes Segnungen trennt und unsere Hoffnungen zunichte macht. Und in seinem Vergleich mit diesem diebischen Standpunkt stellte er sich selbst als die Lösung unserer Probleme hin. Er bezog sich vielmehr auf die Christlichkeit, die er zum Ausdruck brachte, auf die Lebenshaltung, die er

lernte und so erfolgreich lebte — und das ist es, so erklärte er, was uns die Fülle des Lebens zugänglich macht! Wie er einmal selbst sagte: „Ich [rede] nicht von mir selbst. Der Vater aber, der in mir wohnt, der tut seine Werke.“

Das Wesentliche bei dem Vergleich zwischen dem Dieb und der Christlichkeit Jesu besteht darin, daß der Mensch kein materielles Wesen ist. Er ist geistig, zu Gottes Ebenbild erschaffen. Dieb kann nichts anderes bedeuten, als daß der Mensch vollkommen und vollständig ist, und zwar für immer! Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, macht folgende bemerkenswerte Feststellung — eine Fest-

stellung, die sich im Leben ihrer Anhänger so viele Male als wahr erwiesen hat: „Werde dir einen einzigen Augenblick bewußt, daß Leben und Intelligenz rein geistig sind — weder in noch von der Materie —, und der Körper wird keine Klagen äußern. Wenn du an einer Annahme von Krankheit leidest, wirst du entdecken, daß du augenblicklich gesund bist. Leid wird in Freude verwandelt, wenn der Körper von geistigem Leben, von geistiger Wahrheit und Liebe beherrscht wird.“

Der Dieb stellt in unserem Denken das dar, was uns zu der Annahme verleitet, daß die Materie der Mensch oder daß der Mensch Materie sei. Die Auffassung, daß der Mensch ein geistiges Wesen ist, ist nicht eine esoterische Wahrheit, nicht etwas, was wir nur durch den Glauben begreifen können. Jesus predigte und sprach zu einfachen Menschen, als er den Grund für das wunderbar befremdende Begriff von der wahren Natur des Menschen legte. Wenn diese Menschen die Idee erfassen konnten, dann können wir es ebenfalls. Und wir können schon heute damit beginnen.

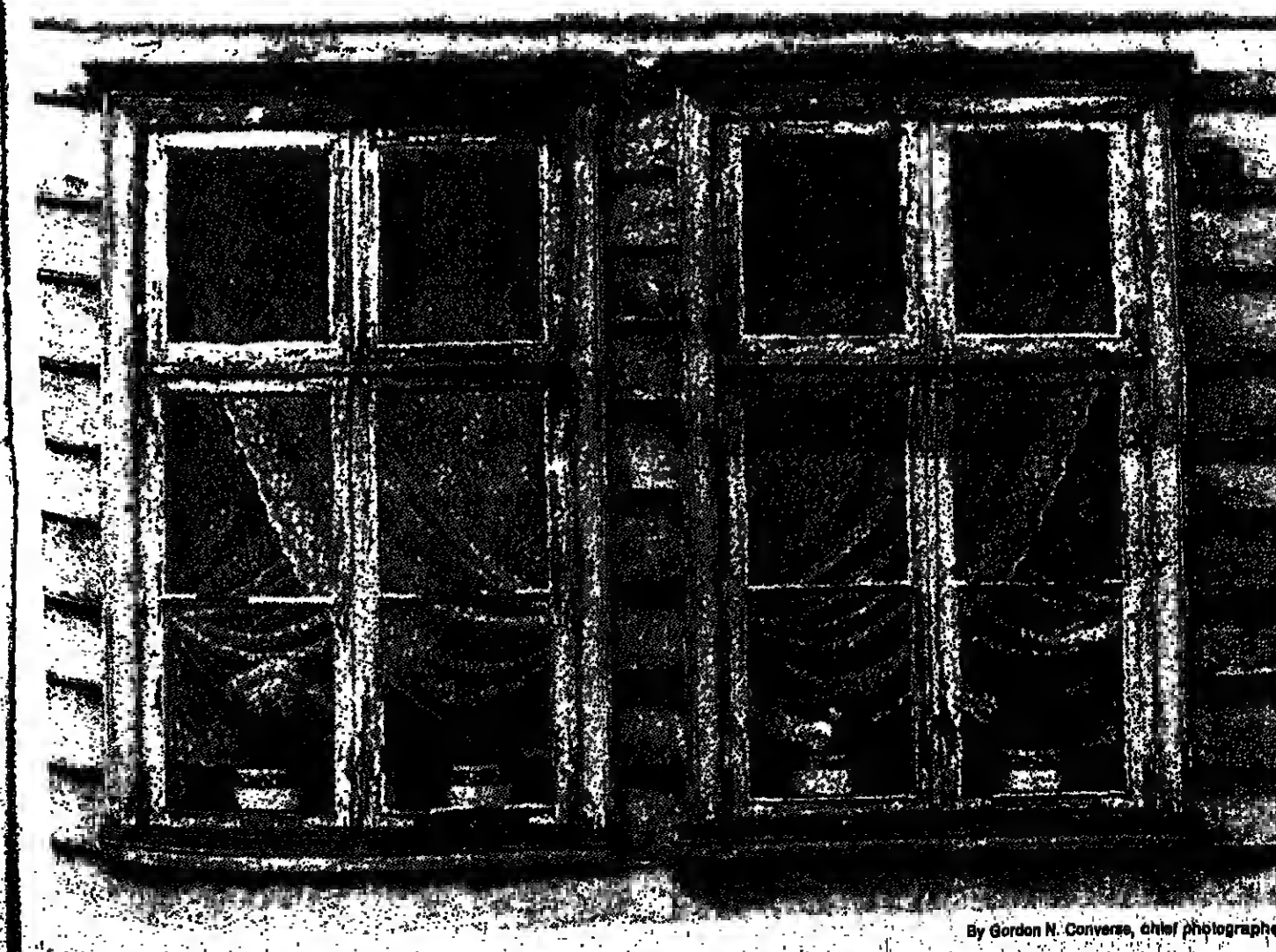
Wir können auf der Stufe anfangen, wo unser Denken sich gerade befindet, da, wo das Leben uns im Augenblick trifft. Wir können uns aufrichtig und aus Liebe zur Wahrheit von der diebischen Einstellung abwenden, die den Menschen lediglich als ein Stück Materie versteht oder als ein in der Materie lebendes Gemüt; und wir können uns der Auffassung zuwenden, daß der Mensch das geistige Ebenbild Gottes ist.

Wenn wir diesen besseren Begriff vom Menschen zu erlangen suchen und unsere Lebensweise von ihm bestimmen lassen, analysiert ihn nur als einen Denksport zu betrachten, werden wir seine Wirksamkeit auf die Probe stellen können. Und die Christlichen Wissenschaftler haben im Laufe der Jahre bewiesen, daß dieser neue Ausblick auf das Leben uns hier und jetzt viel Gutes bringt.

\* Johannes 10:10; \* Johannes 14:10; \* Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 14.

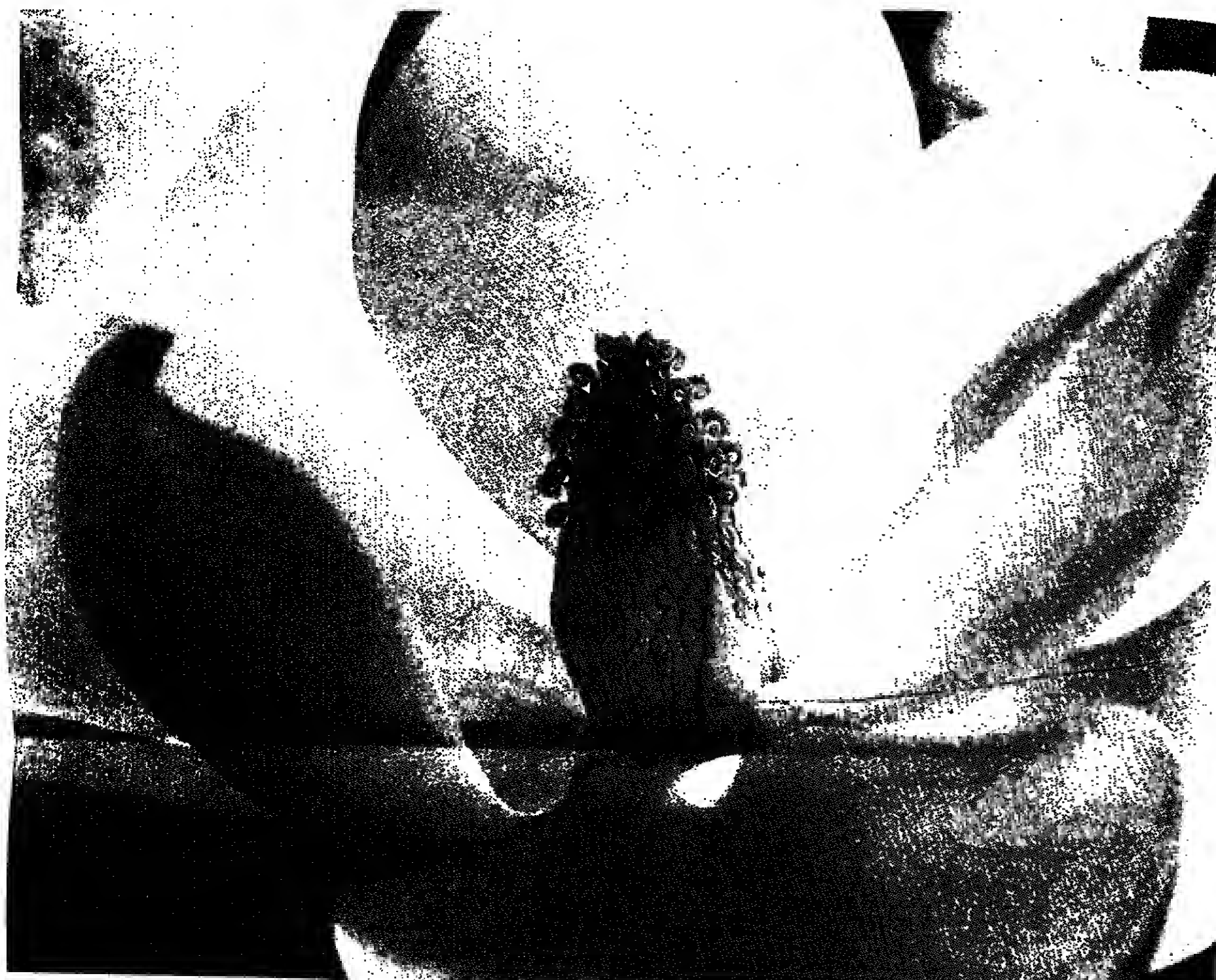
\* Christian Science (Aristotele "santé")  
Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, "Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift" von Mary Baker Eddy, ist auf dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite basierend. Das Buch kann in deutscher Sprache von der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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Lace curtains and potted flowers grace windows in Bergen, Norway





Courtesy of The Imogen Cunningham Trust, San Francisco

'Magnolia Blossom' 1925: Photograph by Imogen Cunningham

## Imogen Cunningham: how she captured the essence

This is essence magnolia. The flower is unembellished, a diamond under the microscope. Imogen Cunningham's classic "Magnolia Blossom" is one of those images that have the last word on an object.

Photographs can be valid as either sketch or final statement. Hundreds emerge before the perfection of form is reached; the maker here is sharpening the exact image again and again, it seems, rejecting, sorting, selecting, to put a final version as exacting and complete as this.

Imogen Cunningham's career spanned most of photography's active life. The medium was invented little more than half a century before she began her work in 1901 at 18. She was an active nonagenarian, on both

a social and professional level until her death in 1976. Cunningham's photography stretched from the pictorial era when her photos had the languid soft-focus look of set poses in the Pre-Raphaelite mode to the double images and abstract play of the 1970s.

Before her San Francisco wood frame house stood a "tangled jungle of ferns, cultivated plants and evergreen that received her daily ministrations (and) created a forest," friends described the scene. But it was as much the spirit of the 1920s as a fondness for growing things that led her to focus on plants during this period. Like Edward Weston with his peppers or Paul Strand dotting on machines, Cunningham saw the object for its own sake: radiating, sensuous, richly

illuminated; almost tactile in the ripeness of the blossom.

Her aim was not integral to the magnolia any more than to the other plants she shot. "You don't find out what the plant is like in either of these," she said of two water hyacinths done at the same time. "But why should you?" In another work, she isolated the magnolia bud against black, like two hands praying, or a slightly chiseled sculpture. A wandering Jew is set into a vase with geometric markings as pronounced as its own stripes, depicting more than horticultural specifics. Her "Glacier Lily" was a study in the shadows that crossed it; as clearly as cloud passages and stronger than the strong bold outline of the flower itself.

Here in "Magnolia Blossom," luminously more than the flower creates the starting "scene." The light is palpable as the flower and more spiritual seems the eruption of life itself; the bloom is at its peak. The sense of wonder in this work speaks of the artist's attitude to life — her curiosity, her tireless interest in her art. An object explored so intensely invites a vocabulary of cliché: velvet petals, life-full center, gauzy background. The intensity of the light suggests the greatest cliché of nature itself: a sunset. But the celebration of the inner life of the object does not deny its individuality. It goes worlds beyond the botanist's species to an uncompromising integrity of object.

Jane Holtz Kay

## The tremulous moment

There is a steady, hollow drip in the rain-spout these days. Boots and mud appear to have formed an indivisible, grimy alliance. The branches of the budding maple tree outside my window are tenanted with a more colorful, a more vocal population. Although it will be some months before the long summer afternoons burn the tips of lilacs golden, the signs are nonetheless unmistakable: this bitter whiner of our discontent is in retreat.

The coming weeks will see spirited counterattacks. Too eager magnolias will have their pink excesses bruised if not completely blotted by a sudden, bitter wind. The unborn fruit within the petals of peach orchards will be harvested by a greedy frost months before its soft velvet prime. There is at least one more bout with sweaters before the books can be closed on the numbing statistics. And then it will be the turn of winter to sink into hibernation.

But not necessarily somewhere north of Canada. The cold will continue to shiver in the rim of a musty cellar drain. It will be found napping in the wet clay under large moss-covered boulders on the north side of a thickly wooded hill. Dive deep into a mountain lake, you will arouse it from the icy slilt to knot the muscles in your chest and legs.

While bees dust themselves in the hot red bells of hollyhocks, winter will sweat out July on the stone floor of a country springhouse. Only in the brief gray hour before dawn will

the chill dare to poke its wet nose out from the crystal coverlets of mountain streams or the damp hollow of a handy crayfish hole. Tiptoeing through the sleeping countryside, it will bundle itself in yards of pale, fogged mist, protection against a chance ambush by a still warm stretch of country road. Hovering outside an open window, it will nudge aside the uneasy curtains and slip into the bedroom. If we have not foolishly let down all our defenses, a warm blanket will be within reach.

For this is a dangerous hour, a warning that winter is not conquered, just thin and groggy from a late summer's nap. One night, fed by the large November darkness, the troops of cold air will stream out fat from the cellars, pond bottoms, and crayfish burrows. Joined by arctic reinforcements from New England and Canada, they will surround the green creatures of sunlight in a frozen symmetry.

Then the voice of the rainspout will once again be silent. The maple's sweet sap will curl sluggishly in a dark web of roots. The sparrows will huddle, their faces to the wind. And we will once again barricade ourselves inside, coaxing from a fragile arsenal of coal, oil, and gas the fires of distant, forgotten summers, while the night hurls round after round of sleet and snow at the double-lined door.

Raymond P. Rhinahart

## I saw a pear tree dreaming

I saw a pear tree dreaming  
About her wedding gown;  
She reached bare arms into the sky  
And pulled a white cloud down;

Then chilling winds grew gentler  
And spoke of April air  
And snowflakes scattered on the ground  
Seemed petals fallen there.

Joyce Flanagan Somarsel

## Windfall

Downrush of summer air suddenly  
shakes my highrise terrace garden,  
shudders this burdened fig tree bare  
of unripe fruit,

littera the floor  
with pearish lumps revealed as stars  
a quake of heaven might cast to earth  
for us to gather and preserve.

Norme Farber

## A symbol

For some time now London has been taken over by visitors, and although we love having them, or at any rate see that we pretend to love having them, here, since they are filling our coffers with welcome money, their multi-Add presence in our streets makes us feel abnormally peculiar. It is quite possible to visit some of our larger stores, going in alone door and out at the other with an hour spent in between, and not hear a word of English spoken. From Groceries to Lingerie, from Antiques to Toys the air is filled with the head of foreign words, and since many of the sales staffs are also foreign the bewilderment of the London housewife is extreme. She has to shake herself to see if she is sane.

To fight one's way through a throng of French and Germans in order to ask a Pakistani for a slab of cheddar cheese is familiar to all Londoners nowadays, yet the experience is sufficiently recent for us to be aware of its peculiarity. Although reasonably adaptable to circumstances, it will take us a little time to get used to seeing Arab ladies in yashmaks squatting on our doorsteps, and indeed the whole color-hel confusion of our visitors, such strange faces, such odd clothes, has an unsettling effect on a people renowned for their chauvinism. Especially for senior citizens who, like myself, with their furled umbrellas at the ready, have to charge round the city carving their way through the alien crowds.

It was after one such affray that I left the polyglot streets, and feeling dazed — for really, it is very difficult to believe this is still London — went into Hyde Park. I went there for recuperation, and there, as luck would have it, going along Rotten Row at a sedate pace, was the drum-horse of the Household Cavalry. This horse is huge, like a Suffolk Punch or a Percheron (I probably is a Suffolk Punch or a Percheron) and when dressed to kill, with a couple of kettle drums and a golden soldier on its back, surrounded by trumpeters and followed by the Life Guards in all their glory, it has the edge on every other horse in the country.

The Monitor's religious article

## A new look at our life

Why was it that Christ Jesus put the activities of a thief in juxtaposition to his own work in bringing an understanding of being to mankind? He said, "The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

The totality of Jesus' teachings, and the spirit of truth that invigorated his disciples through his presence with them, would have made the answer to our question plain to them. Christian Science elucidates those teachings in a manner that can make them easily understandable in the idiom of today's world and way of thinking. The point is an important one. It goes to the heart of the meaning of primitive Christianity, and it opens the way to an enjoyment of life.

Jesus' words were symbolic, of course. He was not talking about an actual thief who steals things from people but about a way of thought and behavior that takes the joy out of life, that separates us from God's blessings, that kills our hopes. And in his contrast to that thieving point of view he was not setting himself up in a personal way as the answer to our problems. He was referring to the Christliness he expressed, the way of life he taught and lived so successfully — that, he explained, is what makes the abundance of life available. As he himself said at one time, "I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works."

The point of contrast between the thief and the Christliness of Jesus' way is that man is not a material being. Man is spiritual, made in the likeness of God. This can mean nothing else than that man is perfect and whole — and forever so! Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, makes this remarkable statement — one that has been proved true so many times in the lives of her followers: "Become conscious for a single moment that Life and Intelligence are purely spiritual, — neither in nor of matter, — and the body will then utter no complaint. If suffering from a belief in sickness, you will find yourself suddenly well. Sorrow is turned into joy when the body is controlled by spiritual Life, Truth, and Love."

The thief symbolizes whatever it is in our thought that leads us to believe that matter is man or that man is matter. It is not an esoteric truth, not something we can grasp only in faith, this concept that man is a spiritual being. Jesus was preaching and talking to ordinary men and women when he laid the groundwork for this marvelously freeing concept of man's real nature. If those people could grasp the idea, so can we. And we can begin today.

We can start right where we are in thought, right where life finds us at the moment. We can in sincerity and love of Truth

turn from the thieving attitude that would have man merely a piece of matter — or a mind living in matter — to the concept of man as the spiritual image of God.

When we seek out this better conception of man and let it dictate our life-style, instead of viewing it merely as a cerebral exercise, we will be able to test its effectiveness. And students of Christian Science down through the years have proved that this new look at life does yield an abundance of good in our lives here and now.

\*John 10:10; \*\*John 14:10; †Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 14.

## The healing touch of God's love

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## BIBLE VERSE

Tell us, and bring them near; yea, let them take counsel together: who hath declared this from ancient time? who hath told it from that time? have not I the Lord? and there is no God else beside me: a just God and a Saviour: there is none beside me. Isaiah 45:21

Virginia Graham



# OPINION AND...

Charles W. Yost

## Heart to heart on poverty

Salzburg, Austria  
There has been meeting in recent weeks in Leopoldskron Castle in Salzburg a remarkable group of young men and women from Western and Eastern Europe — nine West Germans and one East German, four Poles, three Dutchmen, three Spaniards, three Romanians, two Italians, two Austrians, two Yugoslavs, two British, two Swiss, a Czech, a Dane, a Belgian, a Hungarian, an Irishman, a Maltese, plus two Americans, a Japanese, and a Ugandan.

The meeting has been at the Salzburg Seminar, an American-sponsored institution designed precisely for this purpose — to bring Europeans together in a relaxed and lovely setting to talk about their problems and those of the world. It succeeds magnificently. The atmosphere of camaraderie, the open discussion without polemic or propaganda, the respect for others' views are such that, if one did not know otherwise, one might think they all came from the same country. One gains more hope for the future of Europe by listening to them for a week than from all the pronouncements of statesmen or the innumerable official conferences that labor and bring forth a mouse.

The subject of this particular seminar is not a European one, but is nevertheless one which most informed Europeans, like their American counterparts, have recently discovered is al-

most as vital to their future as relations among themselves. While launched under the forbidding title of the "Political Economy of World Resources," the participants have not allowed themselves to be constrained by their subject but have ranged enthusiastically over the entire field of North-South relations, management of interdependence, the politics, economics, and morality of various kinds of aid and trade, the obligation to meet basic human needs, and the necessity to put some sort of ceiling on needs by checking population growth.

One fascinating aspect of the discussion is the extent to which the young people from both West and East feel quite passionately that the developed countries owe assistance to the poor countries, though their motives may be quite different, a guilty conscience for past colonial exploitation on the part of the Westerners and a belief among the Easterners that the poor nations should share the benefits of socialism.

Nevertheless, there is a sober realization among both that their idealism may not be widely shared among their own countrymen and that assistance to less-developed countries from both the United States and the communist bloc is woefully insufficient. Illustrating domestic opinion in its country, a Pole told the story of a competitor who, asked the number

of persons in his family, replied: eight, my wife, myself, two children, one Vietnamese, one Cuban, one Egyptian, and one Angolan.

This intractable domestic consideration led to at least two rather clear conclusions. The first was that aid to poor countries should probably concentrate, not on grandiose industrial projects, but in meeting basic human needs, that is, a minimum essential diet, effective and cheap health care, and a modicum of education, at least literacy. This kind of aid program would obviously require much more emphasis on decentralized rural development using relatively simple, labor intensive technologies.

It was recognized, however, that even a program for meeting basic human needs would run into two major obstacles. The first is that, if the donor countries perceive that the provision of the wherewithal to meet basic human needs may stimulate population growth and that no effective measures to check that growth are being applied, they will eventually decide that their objective is unattainable and will abandon the effort. They will not be willing to wait for the years that would be required for population growth to subside gradually as a consequence of development.

On the other hand, it was also realized that basic human needs could not be successfully

attacked on a large scale in most countries without what would amount to some kind of social revolution. Would the privileged elites in those countries tolerate, not to speak of carrying out, such a revolution, or would they indignantly reject foreign aid extended on these terms as an intolerable intervention in their internal affairs?

Another major complication in the equation of global interdependence was observed to be that, though it is probably inescapable, it may prove to be as conducive to conflict as to cooperation. There is interdependence not only among nations but among issues, political, economic, social, and moral. Each may complicate and exacerbate the others. Interdependence may not be part of the solution, but part of the problem.

So the young Europeans came away from the discussion of the political economy of world resources with the sober realization that in doing so they had opened up Pandora's box and had found themselves confronted with all the ills of the world. Like Pandora they may have been comforted to find that hope had stayed behind and whispered: interdependence is inescapable and you'll find means to live with it.

©1977 Charles W. Yost

## Freedom is a premeditated act

Melvin Maddocks

If words were still pictograms, "responsibility" might be represented by the pained, grimacing mouth of a Victorian father — filled with the sour taste of duty like an unswollen lemon drop. It is certainly one of the less popular words of the moment. Responsibility, we keep assuming, is the opposite of freedom; and "freedom" is certainly one of the more popular words of the moment.

But perhaps we dislike the word "responsibility," not because it means nothing to us but because it means too much. Responsibility is the angel we wrestle with, even when we refuse to give it a name.

The idea of responsibility (if not the word) has begun to creep back into the conversation in the area — oddly enough — of art. In a number of ways the artist has been the avant-garde of the cult of freedom. Freedom, one is constantly told, is the same gun man of "modern" art. Freedom of technique. Freedom of subject matter. Freedom to try absolutely anything — with no strings attached.

Yet in "The Literary View," in the New York Times Book Review, John Leonard has written a whole column about the artist and responsibility — without, of course, ever mentioning the word. His specific point is that there are too many novels of terminal hopelessness: "What do we see when we look in a mirror? The abyss. . . Who are we? If we are men, we are monsters of insensitivity. . . If we are women, we are whiners. . . If we are children, we are victims."

"One doesn't ask for happy endings," Mr. Leonard concludes. "But maybe a happy middle?" A friend or

two in the usual sea of alienation? "Some instance of generosity, some air in the room? . . . Please, sir, may I have a little less nothingness for breakfast?" A little less "programmatic helplessness."

Ah! "Programmatic" is the key word, implying that nothing is more responsible, nothing is less helpless than a determined and even aggressive depiction of helplessness.

It is a truism nowadays to say that the artist "creates" a world and is good enough to share it with us; and we are reminded that it is very bad form to criticize him for the worlds he has not chosen to create. Mr. Leonard is committing just that heresy. He is saying that the deus-artist is responsible for what he leaves out as well as what he puts in — that a reader (or listener, or viewer) is free to object: "This is not my world. And why isn't it? You owe me."

Like Saul Bellow in his Nobel speech, Mr. Leonard longs to make clear that the artist is not an Aeolian harp on whose strings, willy-nilly, the winds blow. At least partly one inclines toward the breeze one wishes to be blown by — one looks toward the vision one bears witness to.

George Steiner carries the point even further in discussing the art historian, E. M. Gombrich, in the pages

of the New Yorker. "The eye is never naked," Mr. Steiner writes bluntly in his opening sentence. His essay is an argument that the artist sees what he is taught to see, often by other artists. The first sentence leads straight to the last sentence: "Culture is the ordering of perception."

Obviously neither Mr. Leonard nor Mr. Steiner is claiming that art is "conscious," like an editorial. But they are arguing that a Rembrandt, for instance, convinces his viewers to see life as light-and-shadow, just as a great comedian, for a few minutes, can persuade even people with no sense of humor to see life as funny.

Doubtless it is more convenient for the artist, like the rest of us, to say: "I'm not responsible for the news I bring you. I didn't make the world the way it is." But the artist is more than a camera, as he will be the first to insist in another mood. And a camera, as Mr. Steiner would point out, is the least naked of eyes anyway — shading, framing, and angling to make its preferred statement.

The responsibility of the artist, the responsibility of the politician, the soldier, the lover, the friend, the parent, the child — the responsibility of all human beings — is awesome. No wonder we have so much trouble talking about it. No wonder it has become our secret from ourselves. No wonder we find it so much easier to talk about freedom. But, on the other hand, how can we go on denying the responsibility that is due others? For in so doing we also deny the forgiveness that is due ourselves.

## Readers write

I refer to a commentary by Joseph C. Harsch entitled "Mr. Carter's Rhodesian problem."

In his article Mr. Harsch says, "Under Kissinger's tutelage a conference on Rhodesia was set up in Geneva." I assume (as did all Rhodesians) that this is an acknowledgment that Geneva was to have been the logical projection of the acceptance, by the Rhodesian premier, of the Anglo-American package as put forward by the then Secretary of State. Conveniently, perhaps, Mr. Harsch makes no mention in his article that the package proposals were never raised at Geneva.

In a subsequent speech on Jan. 24, 1977, following rejection of new proposals put forward by Ivor Richard, the British negotiator, Mr. Smith stated, "Dr. Kissinger told me I must accept it [the package] in its entirety or reject it. I did accept it in its entirety and I abide by it today." Mr. Harsch's statement that "Prime Minister Smith announced an end to negotiations under the Kissinger plan" on Jan. 24 is therefore a blatant and mischievous departure from the truth.

Mr. Harsch further demonstrates his apparent naivety when he makes the following assumption: "Smith could at least hope that the Carter administration would be less devoted to the idea of black rule than Kissinger." To my knowledge, the only comments attributable to Mr. Smith either just before or after Carter's accession was that, at best, he could expect little change. However, since there were already positive indications that Carter owed a debt to his black electorate, the American line if anything would get tougher. Indeed, if the Rhodesian Government felt otherwise it would hardly have embarked on plans to institute an internal settlement.

In concluding his article, Mr. Harsch suggests that Mr. Smith has yet to get the message that the Carter administration is favoring the line taken by the black front-line states over Rhodesia. In other words, Carter, or more especially his advisers, are persuading him to turn a blind eye to the hard facts of Mozambique or Angola, where a minority MPLA government owes its very existence to the presence of Russian support. Or is it where the

same could happen at any moment in Zaire. No, Mr. Harsch, there is no sign that Mr. Carter (rather than Smith) has got the message.

C. P. Paffitis  
Salisbury, Rhodesia  
Chief Information Officer

### Summing up Mrs. Gandhi

The recent elections in India are an event of major world proportions and a cause for jubilation for all those who love freedom. As a supporter of Mrs. Gandhi, I see the following significant historical landmarks in it:

1. In retrospect, Mrs. Gandhi's courage in saying no to mob action in 1975, banishing all personal considerations about "her place in history," braving all charges of tyranny and dictatorship was truly of Lincolnian proportions.

2. That more than 200 million people cast their ballot without intimidation or impediment in a free election based on adult franchise is a resounding testimony to the good faith of Mrs. Gandhi and to the efficacy of her post-emergency therapy.

3. That the Indian people have chosen to elect a woman to the office of Prime Minister is a landmark in the history of women's participation in world politics.

4. That the Indian people have chosen to elect a woman to the office of Prime Minister is a landmark in the history of women's participation in world politics.

# COMMENTARY

## Peres: less hawk than pragmatist

By Joseph J. Sisco

Shimon Peres is likely to become the next Prime Minister of Israel. He, therefore, will be key to future Arab-Israeli negotiations which have a good chance of beginning in the second half of 1977. He is not well known in America. We can expect to get to know him better.

Peres is a friend of long standing. I have sat in dozens of meetings with him over the years. Two things stand out about Peres.

The characterizations of him as a hawk are overdrawn. He will be a highly realistic and pragmatic Prime Minister.

Promptly after he was named by the Labor Caucus to head the Likud, Peres said that this business of hawks and doves was meaningless. He is seeking to overcome the hawkish image. There are, of course, good reasons for this statement. Peres had to win over the realists left to support him. It has done so.

In the negotiations conducted by Prime Minister Rabin which led to the 1975 second Sinai agreement, Peres did press stiffer terms on certain limited points. He insisted on an Amer-

ican presence in the strategic passes, for example. But the "more hawkish" positions taken by Peres in the last two years were primarily tactical — to offer a political alternative to Rabin. There were no fundamental substantive differences between Rabin and him on the key elements of the interim agreement.

What sort of a Prime Minister will he make? Some in Israel have criticized Peres as a man in a hurry, too quickly ambitious to take over from Rabin, though not in the end and regrettable way in which it has come about. Rabin has been a soldier of distinction, a highly effective Ambassador, and a Prime Minister who inherited a difficult situation. There is a continuing understandable sympathy for him, a reservoir of goodwill, and respect for the dignified manner in which he stepped down.

Peres is intelligent, well read, and articulate; he expresses himself with nuance. As Minister of Transport and Defense, he has the reputation of being a good administrator. He is politically perceptive and sensitive. He is fully committed to peace through negotiations. He will be highly pragmatic in negotiations

and, to the extent that he is ideologically oriented, his views do not differ in any significant way from the present Labor Party platform. He will be able to support both Foreign Minister Yigal Allon and former Foreign Minister Abba Eban who long have favored negotiations. Peres understands power inherent in the political process and can be expected to handle compromise between and among different factions in Israel with some artfulness. At the same time, he can be expected to combine firmness and realism in negotiations with the Arabs.

He also has a sense of public relations. Peres' penchant will be toward innovation and change in style, and he may well take a page out of President Carter's book and adopt at least the trappings and symbols of a more open administration. This coincides with the current political evolution reflected in Yigal Yadin's campaign to reform the political process in Israel. Yadin is likely to be an important partner in a Peres administration. Once in office, Peres, the political pragmatist and realist, may well decide to take over the helm of the

movement to bring about internal change.

Peres' past political orientation was French. He does not have the same sentimental and emotional attachment to the U.S. as Mrs. Golda Meir, Rabin, Allon, and Eban. It is not that Peres believes that Israel can do without the U.S., as evidenced by his insistence on a U.S. physical presence in the Sinai. But he has expressed some strong views in the past on the need for Israel to be independent. Like Ben Gurion, he believes that what happens in Israel is paramount. He is a strong advocate of Israeli technological advance and autonomy. He believes deeply in a strong defense industry. It will want to portray his administration as master of its own decisions.

It will be interesting to see how the Carter-Peres chemistry mixes within the tight tube of the continuing special relationship existing between Israel and the U.S.

Mr. Sisco, former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, is president of The American University, Washington, D.C.

Richard L. Strout

## Running the world on sunbeams

Washington  
Did anybody feel a breath of fresh air, buds bursting, frogs peeping, sun shining, in any of the disconcerting debates down here in Washington recently, over such all-but-incomprehensible subjects as energy exhaustion, nuclear proliferation, and atomic bombs? Why, to be sure, it's a little 80-page study by Denis Hayes of the nonprofit research organization "Watchdog," telling how to solve the energy problem; not telling us, exactly, just forecasting where we are likely to end up.

While there are going to be exhausted before long, he thinks, even coal. So what? We are going to fall back on solar energy, and by that Mr. Hayes doesn't mean just direct solar rays concentrated by ingenious mirrors and magnifying glasses and reflectors hung up in the sky. No, solar energy is much broader in this sense; forests and vegetation that provide food and fuel; falling water that the sun has first pulled up into the sky by evaporation; tides that the sun has helped activate; winds that have been created by differences of temperature. These forces are here already, and ac-

cording to testimony before the Senate Energy Commission last week, the supplies are incomprehensible and inexhaustible, and harnessing has only begun.

Mr. Hayes doesn't mean to be fanciful; it's a very serious matter. About a fifth of all energy used around the world today, he says, comes from solar resources: wind power, water power, biomass (fuel produced by photosynthesis). Mr. Hayes makes a guess: by 2000 such renewable sources could provide 40 percent of the global energy budget. And around 2025 (when the world's teaming 4 billion people may be two and a half times bigger) humanity could obtain 75 percent of its energy from "solar resources."

But don't we have coal, and how about nuclear fuel? It is true that petroleum and natural gas seem to be petering out, but isn't the world comfortably fixed with alternate atomic and fossil fuels? As to atomic fuel, there is a great deal of debate; the force that locks together the atom is tremendous, but releasing it is costly and dangerous. Just last week Mr. Carter announced that he would abandon the

experimental fast breeder reactor that would burn plutonium. The world's energy needs are leaping. "If the postulated demand were met with nuclear fission," Mr. Hayes observes, "about 15,000 reactors as large as the biggest yet built would have to be constructed — one new reactor a day for 50 years." The wastes, he notes, might be recycled for bombs: "Such a prospect cannot sanely be greeted with equanimity."

So we turn, hopefully, in good old safe and sane cool. There's lots of that (though maybe less than supposed). There's a hitch, here, too — "an absolutely intractable problem," Mr. Hayes calls it. Coal combustion necessarily produces carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) and adding that to the air, he says, raises the earth's temperature by retarding the radiation of heat into space (a phenomenon known as the "greenhouse effect"). At the projected level of coal consumption necessary to meet the loss of petroleum and natural gas, making allowances for expanded population, Mr. Hayes comes through with the discouraging estimate of a 4 percent CO<sub>2</sub> increase a year. That would alter

the heat balance of the world dramatically in no time, many meteorologists believe.

No what do we do? According to the solar-energy buffs, the question answers itself. We use all those "natural" supplies that the sun gives us. Communist China, for example, is supposed to have two million small "biogas" installations, recovering energy (often in the form of methane gas) from farm vegetable and animal wastes.

The sun is pouring down energy all the time; sunlight is abundant, dependable and free. It's a poetic thought: running the world's factories on sunbeams. Mr. Hayes doesn't indulge in that expression himself; he's practical and earnest. But there is a lyrical touch at the end:

"The attractions of sunlight, wind, running water, and green plants as energy sources are self-evident," he says.

It's a nice thought after all these nasty controversies we've been getting recently, with their incomprehensible jargon — plutonium reactors, cruise missiles, nuclear proliferation. Just the idea of a verdant meadow, somewhere, sipping up sunbeams.

## France 'rocks about a bit but never sinks'

By Philip W. Whitcomb

Paris  
The surest way to mislead a foreigner regarding the political situation in France is to state the facts and nothing but the facts.

Begin with the facts. The President, asserting his right of final decision on the strength of his 51 percent majority in 1974 and without consulting Parliament sent French planes to Zaire carrying Moroccan arms. That was three weeks ago. A month ago the more or less united Left won a majority of the seats in the city councils

of two-thirds of the provincial towns with over 30,000 population, and even increased their percentage of seats in the Paris council from 33 to 40.

The vital legislative elections of 1978 to choose between the death and the revival of the faltering Fifth Republic are already being masterminded by a confusion of three major parties on the right with half a dozen variants and dissidents, and a confusion of three major parties on the left, also with half a dozen dissidents. Plus various nonaligned, including the

ecologists, the monarchists and the Joubertists.

Disregarding hard facts for the moment, continue with the currents of public opinion that sweep so freely through France. Dominant, at least temporarily, is the expectation, proclaimed joyfully by the Left and whispered sadly by the Right; that the 1978 Legislature will be ruled by the Left, ending the Fifth Republic after a 10-year life, almost exactly the average for French regimes since 1789.

At this point the unwary foreign observer

though accurately informed regarding hard facts and currents of opinion will go astray unless three fundamental French realities are borne in mind.

First, France is an amalgam of racial groups each jealous of its own distinctive character. Second, France has made 17 drastic, often violent, changes of regime in the last 194 years. Third, everything seems to come right in the end.

With its medley of Basques, Bretons, Normans, Gauls, Germans, Swiss, and Mediterranean racial groups, — not counting the nearly five million African and other non-French workers and residents in France — with a Constitution and codes of law that form something like a mosaic of their 17 predecessors, and even with a flag that has fallen, after nine devaluations, to a 50th of its 1914 value in contemporary dollars, France remains powerful, busy and wealthy with only mid-range rates of inflation and unemployment.

Last month 352 of France's most powerful industrial and financial leaders declared firmly that the "Barre plan" for the revitalization of the French economy will succeed.

Observers relying on hard facts and a study of the currents of public opinion have made innumerable dire predictions ever since Waterloo.

Today's observer would be well advised to remember the conclusion reached by the genius who chose the coat of arms and motto of Paris, and therefore of France: a ship on the waves, with the words, if rather freely translated, "It rocks about a bit but never sinks."

## What Guyana wants

By Rashleigh E. Jackson

From a speech at a recent New York symposium by the permanent representative of Guyana to the United Nations.

What does Guyana desire for the conduct of its foreign policy? In the first place, Guyana sees its "foreign policy" as an integral component of a national policy rooted firmly in domestic determinants. Our primary goal is to establish an identity and build a nation in a manner freely chosen by ourselves without external imposition. The type of society we envisage and the form of social and economic organization must be drawn from our historical experience and must satisfy the deepest aspirations of the Guyanese nation. These aspirations are being achieved through the

development of a cooperative rather than a competitive spirit, on self-reliance and on the ownership and control of our natural resources.

We wish to pursue untrammeled friendships with all countries on the basis of sovereignty, equality and mutual respect. We will not permit the establishment of any foreign military bases on our soil. We have never been aggressive and we do not have aggressive intentions. We have neither the capability nor the will, nor the desire to be a threat to anyone. We are nonaligned. As a small state, we see in nonalignment through cooperative efforts with like-minded states, the opportunity to work for the construction of a regime of secure peace resting on the creation of an international economic order based on justice

and equity and on the eradication of colonialism.

We expect scrupulous respect for and adherence to the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of states as enshrined in international law. We do not desire our policies and our actions to be judged by perceptions irrelevant to our interests.

Within this hemisphere, we attach special importance to the maintenance of friendly relations with our neighbors, Venezuela, Brazil, and Surinam.

We call for full respect for the principle of self-determination. We wish to be left alone to pursue a path of socialism as our strategy of development and an ethic of distribution.